



THE
LIFE AND SERVICES
OF
ADMIRAL LORD NELSON,

VOL. III.



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THE
LIFE AND SERVICES
OF
HORATIO
VISCOUNT NELSON,
DUKE OF BRONCKE, VICE-ADMIRAL OF THE WHITE; K.B., ETC.

FROM HIS LORDSHIP'S MANUSCRIPTS.

BY
THE REV. JAMES STANIER CLARKE, F.R.S.
LIBRARIAN AND CHAPLAIN TO GEORGE PRINCE OF WALES;

AND
JOHN M'ARTHUR, ESQ. LL.D.
SECRETARY TO ADMIRAL LORD HOOD.

VOL. III.

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ADMIRAL LORD NELSON.

CHAP. X.

CAUTION AGAINST FRENCH INFLUENCE AT CONSTANTINOPLE—AN “OLD AGAMEMNON” PROMOTED—DOUBTFUL CONDUCT OF SPAIN—IMPORTANCE OF POSSESSING SARDINIA—CONTINUED COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE DEY OF ALGIERS—LORD HUGH SEYMOUR—ADMIRAL DUCKWORTH—LORD NELSON’S DISPUTES WITH THE ARTILLERY-OFFICERS IN HIS FLEET—FRENCH ADMIRAL’S BOAST OF HAVING CHASED THE BRITISH FLEET—BUONAPARTE ASCENDS THE THRONE OF FRANCE—EXPEDIENTS FOR ALLUING THE FRENCH OUT OF TOULON—CHARACTER OF ELFI BEY—SHIP OF WAR ORDERED TO SURVEY THE BLACK SEA—WANT OF FRIGATES—BOAT-ATTACK ON THE ENEMY’S SHIPS IN THE BAY OF HIERES—LIEUTENANT WOODMAN RETURNS FROM THE BLACK SEA—STATE OF SARDINIA—SPAIN DECLARES WAR.—1803—1804.

EVER intent on his country’s greatness, and sensitively jealous of French influence over neutral powers, the mind of Lord Nelson did not allow the important business, of watering and victualling his fleet at the Madelena islands, to absorb the whole of his attention, but wrote to Mr. Drummond, our ambassador at Constantinople, as follows.—“The particular situation of our country at this moment, prevents the Admiralty from furnishing me with frigates and smaller vessels; therefore I must equally regret with your excellency the not being able to send any directly to Constantinople. I feel very happy that my conduct is still satisfactory to the Sublime Porte, my zeal and activity they may fully rely upon; but it may be possible, that, notwithstanding all my care and attention, the French fleet will escape me, and get to Egypt or the Morea before I can come up with them: I would therefore strongly recommend the Turkish government to be upon its guard; being at peace with so treacherous a people as the French, is no security against an attack. The last report was, 26th of October, eight sail of the line ready for sea, six frigates, and five or six cor-

... : they had been pressing in every part to get men, and 5000 troops are ready for embarkation. Every hour I expect to hear of their sailing."

During Lord Nelson's continuance at the Madelena islands, the following note was entered in his diary : "7th of November. *I had the comfort of making an old Agamemnon, George Jones, a gunner into the Camelcon brig.*" The fleet soon afterwards unmoored, and proceeded to its station off Toulon. On the 7th, he had sent the following letter to General Villettes, respecting a war with Spain. "My dear general : I certainly think that the navy ought to have had a regular hospital at Malta, and not to have thrown the trouble of attending our seamen on the medical skill of the army ; and whenever Sir Richard Bickerton and Dr. Snipe go to Malta, I intend they should examine the large house on the opposite side to you, which will be a very fit place for a marine hospital. I am very much obliged to you for the 100 shells, I have no doubt we shall have occasion to use them ; if the enemy run into port, I shall not be very delicate where the place is. Your kindness, my dear general, I have experienced on every occasion, and your readiness to serve us is acknowledged by all the fleet. . . I agree with you, that unless Buonaparte is absolutely mad, and that the people about him are so likewise, he will not wish to throw Sicily entirely into our hands, in order to revenge himself of the king of Naples, much less force Spain into a war which must so much injure the French cause : to us it matters not being at war with Spain. We may be forced to go to war with her for her complaisance to the French ; but I never can believe, that Buonaparte's counsellors are such fools as to force Spain to begin, and of course give us all her riches and commerce. The war would not cost us one farthing more than at present. I intend to leave this anchorage on Wednesday, and get home again : although I have two good frigates watching them, yet I like to be at hand in case of need." In writing on the same day to Captain Ball, he adds, "What ! does Buonaparte begin to find excuses necessary ? I thought he would invade England *in the face*

of the sun, now he wants a three days' fog: that never yet h opened, and, if it should, how are his craft to be kept together? He will find more excuses. I expect the enemy every hour to put to sea, and with troops; the event, with God's blessing on our exertions, we ought not to doubt. I really believe that we shall make *a strong pull, and a pull all together!*"

The character of this renowned admiral appears still more interesting, when it occasionally descends from the elevation of a commander-in-chief, and of a great statesman, watching the progress of French influence throughout the Mediterranean, to soothe the feelings, and to assist the judgment of subordinate officers in his fleet by parental advice. During the month of November, a lieutenant on board one of the frigates had ventured to write to his admiral, and to express dissatisfaction against the captain of that frigate. The reply of Lord Nelson displays a thorough knowledge of the human heart, and that subduing tenderness by which he won the affection of all who served under him—"I have just received your letter, and I am truly sorry that any difference should arise between your captain, who has the reputation of being one of the bright officers of the service, and yourself, a very young man and a very young officer, who must naturally have much to learn; therefore the chance is that you are perfectly wrong in the disagreement. However, as your present situation must be very disagreeable, I will certainly take an early opportunity of removing you, provided your conduct to your present captain be such, that another may not refuse to receive you."

To Sir John Acton, Nov. 24th, off Toulon.—"On the 9th I sailed from the Madelena Islands. We have had a very bad passage and much blowing weather, but our ships have not suffered any material damage. The French fleet yesterday at two o'clock, was in appearance in high feather, and as fine as paint could make them; eight sail of the line, eight frigates, and several corvettes were ready for sea. One ship of the line was fitting in the arsenal, her top-masts an end; this is their state, but when they may sail, or where they will go, I am very sorry to say is a secret I am not acquainted with. Our weather-

beaten ships, I have no fears, will make their sides like a plum - pudding. Lord Hobart says, as they increase in force at home, which is doing rapidly, that they will not forget an additional one for the Mediterranean. The general orders to support the king of Naples are repeated, and I shall only assure your excellency, that the defence of their majesties and their kingdoms is always nearest my heart. The Excellent, 74, Captain Sotheron, has joined me from England."

To Mr. Spiridion Foresti, Nov. 25th off Toulon.—"I should wish to know whether * * * has the power to grant us any particular privileges in trade, and if so, what they are. I am told he has the finest forests for building ships of the line, and that vast quantities of hemp may be grown in his government; and I should be glad to know what of our manufactures he could take, and to what amount. I have desired Captain * * * to look at the port, and ascertain whether it be capable of holding the fleet under my command, and of supplying all our wants. I am really much interested for * *, he has always been a staunch friend to the English, and most particularly kind to me; and if I should ever go to Corfu, I shall certainly, if he be within a few days' reach, go to see him. As I have done before, so I have again written to Mr. Hammond; and desired him a second time to speak to Lord Hawkesbury on the subject of at least making good your losses, and that in my opinion you ought to be rewarded for considerable sufferings, and for your unshaken attachment to Great Britain. Your attention to every part of your duty, leaves me nothing to recommend."

To Mr. Frere, at Madrid, Nov. 28th.—"I have the honour to send, for your excellency's information, two letters which will mark the conduct of the Spaniards towards us, and of which I doubt not but you will seriously complain. I trust that we shall be received in the Spanish ports in the same manner as the French. I am ready to make large allowances for the miserable situation Spain has placed herself in; but there is a certain line beyond which I cannot submit to be treated with disrespect. We have given up French vessels

taken within gun-shot of the Spanish shore, and yet French vessels are permitted to attack our ships from the Spanish shore. Your excellency may assure the Spanish government, that in whatever place the Spaniards allow the French to attack us, in that place I shall order the French to be attacked. The old order of 1771, now put in force against us, is infamous; and I trust your excellency will take proper steps, that the present mode of enforcing it be done away — it is gross partiality, and not neutrality.” Notwithstanding these aggressions on the part of Spain, the conduct of the British government was worthy of its national character, and the regard which the two kingdoms had always possessed for each other: even so late as the month of November in the ensuing year, Lord Nelson continued to receive these instructions from the Admiralty. “You are not to detain, in the first instance, any ship belonging to his Catholic majesty, sailing from a port of Spain; but you are to require the commander of such ship to return directly to the port whence she came; and only in the event of his refusing to comply with such requisition, you are to detain and send her to Gibraltar, or to England. I am further commanded to signify their lordships’ direction to you, not to detain any Spanish homeward-bound ship of war, unless she shall have treasure on board, nor merchant-ships on any account whatever.”

To the Duke of Clarence, off Toulon, Dec. 7th. “The French fleet keep us waiting for them during a long and severe winter’s cruise; and such a place as all the Gulf of Lyons, for gales of wind from the N. W. to N. E., I never saw; but by always going away large, we generally lose much of their force and the heavy sea of the gulf. However, by the great care and attention of every captain, we have suffered much less than could have been expected. I hope now to be allowed to call Keats my friend. He is very much recovered, and cheerful; he is a treasure to the service. By the French papers which we have to Nov. 19th, we are in momentary expectation of Buonaparte’s descent upon England. And although I can have no fears for the event, yet there is, I hope, a natural anxiety to hear what is passing at so critical a moment, when every thing we hold dear in this world is at

stake. I trust in God, Buonaparte will be destroyed, and that then the French may be brought, if the powers of Europe have either spirit or honour, to reasonable terms of peace: that this may be soon, and with honour to our country, is my fervent prayer, and shall ever be my most ardent endeavour."

To Earl St. Vincent, off Palma, Dec. 12th. "I have received your kind letters by the Excellent, which joined me on the 24th of Novemker. The station I chose to the westward of Sicie, was to answer two important purposes: one, to prevent the junction of a Spanish fleet to the westward; and the other, to be to windward, so as to enable me, if the north-easterly gale came on to the N. N. W. or N. N. E. to take shelter in a few hours either under the Hieres islands or Cape St. Sebastian; and I have hitherto found the advantage of that position. Spain having settled her neutrality, I am taking my winter's station under St. Sebastian, to avoid the heavy seas in the gulf, and shall keep frigates off Toulon. From September, we have experienced such a series of bad weather as is rarely met with; and I am sorry to say, that all the ships which have been from England in the late war have severely felt it. I had ordered the transports, with provisions, to meet me at St. Pierre's, but as yet they have not made their appearance; and although this day we average three months' provisions, yet I wish to keep them complete to near five months. The passage from Malta is hardly to be made with any ship; the Amazon, which I have not seen but heard of, was three weeks from Malta as far as Minorca. In short, my dear lord, if I were to allow this fleet to get into such a port as Malta, they had better be at Spithead. I know no way of watching the enemy but to be at sea, and therefore good ships are necessary. The Superb is in a very weak state; but Keats is so superior to any difficulties, that I hear but little from her. You may rely that all which can be done by ships and men shall be done; whilst it pleases God to give me the strength of health, all will do well; and when that fails, I shall give the cudgels up to some stouter man; but I wish to last till the battle is over, and if I do that, it is all I can hope for, or in reason expect. Sir Richard Bickerton is a very steady, good

officer, and fully to be relied upon. George Campbell you know."

One great excellency in Lord Nelson throughout the whole of his bright career, was the talent he so eminently possessed, of inspiring others with a portion of his own enterprising spirit. The attention which he paid in this respect, to some of the youngest officers, who had the honour of serving under him, may be seen from the following letters. The first is addressed to Mr. J. Dalton, on board the *Renown*, Dec. 14th.—"As Mrs. Lutwidge sends me word, that you have admited some of my naval battles, I think that you will like to receive from me a medal, which was struck by the partiality of my friends in remembrance of one of those actions: at least it will serve to remind you, that on the 13th Dec. 1803, I had first the pleasure of being known to you. A wish to imitate successful battles, is the sure road, by exertion, to surpass them, which that you may do, for your own honour and the advantage of your country, is my sincere wish."—In another to Mr. Charles Connor, on his being rated midshipman on board the *Niger*, he wrote as follows. "Dear Charles: As Captain Hillyer has been so good as to say he would rate you mid, I sincerely hope that your conduct will ever continue to deserve his kind notice and protection, by a strict and very active attention to your duty. If you deserve well, you are sure of my assistance. Mr. Scott will furnish you with money to begin your mess, and I shall allow you thirty pounds a year, if it be necessary, which Captain Hillyer will supply you with. And as you from this day start in the world as a man, I trust that your future conduct in life will prove you both an officer and a gentleman. Recollect, that you must be a seaman to be an officer, and also that you cannot be a good officer without being a gentleman. I am always with most sincere good wishes, your true friend—Nelson and Bronte."

To Sir T. Troubridge, 21st of Dec. off Corsica. "Were I, my dear Troubridge, to begin describing *all* the complaints and wants of this fleet, it would be exactly the same, I dare say, as you receive from all other stations; but as it can be attended

with no good effect, I shall save myself the trouble of writing, and you of reading them. The storekeeper has sent two ships to the Adriatic to land hemp, and therefore I hope that we shall in time get rope to supply our wants. Every bit of twice-laid stuff belonging to the Canopus is condemned, and all the running-rigging in the fleet, except the Victory's. We have fitted the Excellent with new main and mizen rigging; it was shameful for the dock-yard to send a ship to sea with such rigging. The Kent is gone to Malta, fit only for a summer's passage. They are still under such alarm at Naples, that I cannot withdraw the Gibraltar. I have submitted to Sir Richard Strachan, whether the state of the French ships at Cadiz would allow of his coming to me for six weeks? for although I have no fears of the event of a battle with six to their eight, yet if I can have eight to their eight, I shall not despise the equality. We are not stoutly, or in any manner well manned in the Victory; but she is in very excellent order, thanks to Hardy, and I think *woe be to the Frenchman she gets alongside of*. I have just been to the southern end of Sardinia, having ordered the transports with provisions to meet me at St. Pierre's; but it blew such a tremendous storm, that we could not get in. It, however, turned out fortunate, for after the gale we got into the gulf of Palma, which is without exception the finest open roadstead I ever saw. I shall send you the plan of it, and soundings taken by the master of the Victory, an *élève* of Hallowell's; I have him here, to make him a lieutenant. Lemon-juice we are getting, and much better than we procure from England; but the difficulty is coming at the price; and at this distance it is not all our letters that can rectify incorrectness. I have directed Sir Richard Bickerton, who is gone in the Kent, to make inquiries into this department: there is no such thing as stopping the baking of bread, although I have accounts of abundance coming from England; but they like to buy, and so they may; I will, however, give no order. You will see the reports respecting a naval hospital at Malta. It is curious that in a place taken by the close blockade of the navy, and when the only reason

for keeping it was to have a naval station, that no spot has been allotted for a naval hospital; and we are upon sufferance from day to day. Beguy is certainly the only proper place, as it stands insulated with grounds, and has every means of comfort; but to complete it for 150 men would cost, besides the purchase of house and grounds, 1000*l.*, and 2000*l.* more to put it in order. Ball says 5000*l.* would do the whole; but I say for 5, read 10,000*l.* I have six frigates and sloops watching the French army in the Adriatic, and at the mouth of the archipelago."

On leaving the Bay of Palma, the fleet being in want of water, Lord Nelson stood again for Agincourt Sound, Madelena Islands, and on the 21st of December sent Captain Ross Donnelly to ascertain whether the French fleet was still in Toulon.

The following letter to Lord Hobart, dated 22d of December, 1803, is the first of those interesting communications respecting the value of Sardinia to this country, which the admiral sedulously, but ineffectually, endeavoured to impress on the attention of government.

"My dear lord: In presuming to give my opinion on any subject, I venture not at infallibility, and more particular information may convince me that opinion is wrong. But as my observations on what I see are not unacceptable, I shall state them as they strike me at the moment of writing. God knows, if we could possess one island, Sardinia, we should want neither Malta nor any other: this, which is the finest island in the Mediterranean, possesses harbours fit for arsenals, and of a capacity to hold our navy, within twenty-four hours' sail of Toulon. Bays to ride our fleets in, and to watch both Italy and Toulon, no fleet could pass to the eastward between Sicily and the coast of Barbary, nor through the Faro Messina: Malta in point of position is not to be named the same year with Sardinia. All the fine ports of Sicily are situated on the eastern side of the island, consequently of no use to watch any thing but the Faro of Messina. *And, my lord, I venture to predict, that if we do not, from delicacy, or commiseration of*

the lot of the unfortunate king of Sardinia, the French will get possession of that island. Sardinia is very little known; it was the policy of Piedmont to keep it in the back ground, and whoever it has belonged to, it seems to have been their maxim to rule the inhabitants with severity, in loading its produce with such duties as prevented the growth. I will only mention one circumstance as a proof: half a cheese was seized, because the poor man was selling it to our boats, and it had not paid the duty. Fowls, eggs, beef, and every article, are most heavily taxed. The coast of Sardinia certainly wants every penny to maintain itself; and yet I am told, after the wretched establishment of the island is paid, that the king does not receive 5000l. sterling a year. The country is fruitful beyond idea, and abounds in cattle and sheep—and would in corn, wine, and oil. It has no manufactories. In the hands of a liberal government, and freed from the dread of the Barbary States, there is no telling what its produce would amount to. It is worth any money to obtain, and I pledge my existence it could be held for as little as Malta in its establishment, and produce a large revenue.—I have done; perhaps you will think it time: I will not venture to give an opinion on the state of the Turkish empire, although I have a strong one; but that would be too bad.”

During his stay at the Madelena Islands, he wrote on the 29th of December to our minister, Mr. Jackson :—“I anchored here to clear my transports with provisions, and was going to sea this morning, but I am prevented from a heavy gale of westerly wind. By letters from Mr. Elliot, of the 11th of December, received last night, I find apprehensions are renewed of the invasion of Sardinia from Corsica. The king may be assured, that as far as I am able I should be happy in preventing it; but a vessel cruising in the straits of Bonifaccio would not have the desired effect; for either a calm, a gale of wind, or even a night, would preclude any use from such a cruiser. I only hope that the king will not be alarmed. The Sardinians, generally speaking, are attached to us; yet there are French intriguers amongst them, and I understand they

hope to bring about a revolt before this invasion. In whatever I can be useful to their majesties, they may command me; but the destroying of the French fleet is the greatest service I can render to them, to Europe, and our own country. The chart of Sardinia which you sent me is a most excellent one."

To Sir John Acton, the 29th of December. "... I am much obliged for all the news you are so good as to tell me, but the assurances of the present French government are not to be depended upon: their system is to lull those whom they wish to destroy into a fatal security. In no other light can they wish for the disarming of the Calabrians; they would then have an open road to the coast opposite to Sicily; and as I am touching upon this subject, should unhappily the king find it proper to quit Naples, although the court and the greater part of the royal family should go to Palermo, yet the head-quarters with the king ought to be at Messina, in order to communicate freely with the kingdom of Naples. So much advantage would arise from it, that I am sure it will strike your excellency; and with the Calabrians in arms, what good effects may not be expected! I am fully aware, my dear Sir John, of the delicacy of touching upon this subject, but my heart is with you, and I could not resist it. I observe what your excellency says respecting the European powers; it was a desire of aggrandisement in some of the great ones that lost them everything, even much of their own possessions. I have my fears that Russia will not come forward as she ought; but if she and the emperor were to join, I think Buonaparte would tumble from his station, and Europe get an honourable peace. That the French should hate you, is the highest compliment they can pay: if you had advised the king to degrade himself, they would have despised you, and his honour would have been lost, which now, thanks to your excellency, is preserved entire. . . I shall conclude by merely repeating, that you are sure of me in time of need; and I hope to be more at my ease after the battle with the French fleet. I think they cannot much longer remain in port, and it

would be a very dangerous experiment to leave them, on the presumption that they would not come to sea."

In writing about the same time to his excellency Admiral Sir John Warren at Petersburg, the conduct which that emperor should have adopted is described:—"It would be so much for the honour of Russia to go to war with the Corsican, that I hope the emperor has decided upon it long before this time. If he does not, his protégés, Naples and Sardinia, will be lost."

Notwithstanding his increased ill state of health at this time, which had been occasioned by the severe service and weather he had experienced, his active and zealous mind continued watchful over the security of every power that was on terms of amity with his country. He strongly suspected the French of having a design on Sardinia, and more particularly, when they were informed of the commodious harbour in the Madelena Islands, and the supplies which our fleet had been allowed to enjoy. He determined, therefore, in case such an attempt should be made, to have every arrangement previously formed to resist the invasion. On the 31st of December, in an official letter on this subject, which he addressed to General Villettes, his lordship expressed a wish to know, whether, if the French should possess themselves of those islands, the general could send a number of men, not exceeding 1000, to retake them? which the admiral was of opinion would be an easy thing, with such assistance as he could give from the fleet, if it were done before the French had a sufficient length of time to fortify themselves, or to induce the inhabitants to co-operate. And this was supported on the same day by the following private letter:—"In the request I have made for more troops, in case the French from Corsica should take possession of these islands, in order to deprive us of the harbour, I have thought it better to make it entirely official, that it may not be misunderstood. If you think you can with propriety spare the troops for such a service, you will of course have them ready for embarkation at the shortest notice; but I hope that the French will remain quiet. They have, how-

ever, threatened the Sardinians if they do not shut their ports to us."

To his excellency Mr. Elliot, Madelena Islands. "Every part of your intelligence was so interesting, that I read it over and over, and I am sorry that I cannot send you news in return of the sailing of the French fleet, our meeting, fighting, and beating them. With respect to Sardinia, I have not the smallest doubt, that, if we do not, the French will possess it before two months; and the invasion of Sicily is not difficult from Sardinia. The viceroy of Sardinia has no means to prevent a descent, he could not send 100 men here. I have stated my opinion fully to Lord Hobart. If we possessed this island, it would save Sicily, perhaps Italy, certainly Turkey and Egypt; but we shall never point out to the king of Sardinia that he will lose it, till the French have it. I can be of little use in keeping a vessel cruising in these straits; it is only ten miles from Bonifaccio, and either a calm or gale of wind would render all our efforts useless. . . . We have had the French papers to the 5th of December, and the king's speech I sent to Malta. Wyndham spoke violently on the address, but there was no opposition to it."

In writing towards the close of this year, 1803, to governor Sir T. Trigge, at Gibraltar, Lord Nelson mentioned the relative state of his own force with that of the enemy.* "I am sorry (added he) to be obliged to take Donegal from your vicinity for a few weeks, but the absence of Kent, Stately, and Gibraltar, which are never likely to be of any service again in this country, renders it absolutely necessary, with the present fleet of the enemy; they are now ten to our seven, and, although I have no fears for the result of a battle with our present force,

* List of the British and French fleets in the Mediterranean at the close of 1803, as sent by Lord Nelson.—*French*: (As given in a list found on board a captured French schooner.) Neptune, 80; Formidable, 80; Indomptable, 80; Mont Blanc, 74; Scipion, 74; Intrepide, 74; Atlas, 74; Hannibal, 74; Swiftsure, 74; Berwick, 74.—*British*: Victory, 100; Canopus, 80; Superb, 74; Belleisle, 74; Excellent, 74; Triumph, 74; Renown, 74. Early in the ensuing year the Royal Sovereign for the flag of Sir R. Bickerton, and the Leviathan, were sent to the Mediterranean

yet if I could have more, and had not, I should consider myself very reprehensible. The conduct of the French privateers from Algiers and Tariffe is very blameable, and calls loudly for reformation."

On the 4th of January, 1804, the fleet weighed at daylight from the Madelena Islands, and in consequence of information they received, his lordship sent the following instructions to Captain Parker of the Amazon: "An invasion of Sardinia is intended immediately on our departure, by the French from Corsica; it is therefore my direction that you remain at your present anchorage, and use your utmost endeavours in preventing the invasion of the French, and give every aid and assistance in your power to the inhabitants, should it be attempted. The Cameleon will give similar orders to Captain Staines, and direct him to remain on this service till further instructions; and you will get under weigh occasionally, as you may think proper." In a previous letter on the first of January to Sir R. Bickerton, the admiral had informed him, that General Colli, an old Piedmontese officer, or his son, was at Ajaccio to come over with the expedition, and all the refugee Sardes were ordered to be assembled there, victualled, and to receive pay every day. "I have the order," added he, "signed Berthier, taken in a packet-boat a few days ago by a Gibraltar privateer."

In consequence of the violent treatment which the British resident at Algiers, Mr. Falcon, had received from the Dey, and his taking the Maltese subjects of his Britannic majesty prisoners, Lord Nelson, on the 9th of January, detached Captain Keats in the Superb to Algiers, with the following memoranda for his guidance. "Should the Dey refuse to receive you unless you return his salute, *you will not do it*, and acquaint him by letter that you will sail in twenty-four hours. And you will not receive any letter from the Dey to me, as that would open a negociation that would never end. In your first conversation with the Dey, every sorrow is to be expressed, that his highness should commit such an insult on his majesty, as sending away his representative, and taking

his Maltese subjects prisoners. To whatever the Dey may urge, or to any endeavour to turn the conversation to any complaints of his own, *you are never to reply* ; but always to answer by telling him, *that you were come for reparation of an insult, and not to attend to his complaints, which he had sent to England and settled.* Although you will never give up the reparation due to his majesty, yet if the Dey sends off the Maltese, you will receive them ; but you will never recede a tittle from your original demands.

“The Dey will probably, if you leave him with only part of your mission accomplished, ask you repeatedly, *Well, are we now at peace?* To which, unless you completely succeed, only reply that you will communicate to me what of our just demand has not been complied with, and that is the only answer you shall give. Never desist on account of what has been granted, but demand what has not ; and leave the question of peace or war entirely open, so that it may hang over his head. If the consul be not received, I shall never send again to Algiers ; and more reparation will be demanded, should he ever wish to accept of the offer now made him. Should the Dey, which I am told is often the case, rise up in a passion and retire ; you will signify to him by letter, that you will not submit to be so treated, and that you will never come into his presence again to be insulted, nor unless you receive his word of honour, that all your just demands shall be satisfied and finished if you go again to him, and that you will sail in twenty-four hours. The Dey may, to our demand for the Sicilian vessels, reply by asking, *if one of my subjects on my account freights a French ship, will you allow her to pass?* The answer of course would be yes, under similar circumstances. If your highness were driven out of Algiers and all your vessels destroyed, so that you were with your subjects besieging it, or having obtained it, as was the case with the Maltese and British, and you freighted a vessel with provisions to keep you from perishing ; Great Britain would not take an enemy’s vessel under those circumstances : it would be the most cruel thing in nature to attempt starving our friends on

any such pretence, and yet your highness' cruisers attempted to starve his Britannic majesty's subjects when in a similar situation."

The letter which his lordship sent to the Dey, by Captain Keats, preserved throughout the same tone of dignified exposition, endeavouring to make the Dey sensible that any insult shown to Mr. Falcon, was in fact an insult to his royal master; and the admiral appealed to the good sense of his highness, and the amity which had always subsisted between him and the king of Great Britain. "I trust," added Lord Nelson, "that you will find no difficulty in giving his majesty full and complete reparation; and as it is my intention to mark, by every means in my power, my former regard and respect for your highness, I annex the words which are the least exceptionable that you can offer, or I accept, for the insult done to his majesty; and they must be delivered in writing, before Mr. Falcon, his majesty's agent and consul-general, can be landed—

"I am most exceedingly sorry, that in an unguarded moment of anger I should have ordered out of the state of Algiers the agent and consul-general of my great friend, his Britannic majesty; and I declare upon my faith and word as a prince, that I will never offer such an insult again to his Britannic majesty, and will with pleasure receive Mr. Falcon."

"For this purpose," continues the admiral, "I have sent my right trusty friend Richard Goodwin Keats, Esq. captain of his majesty's ship *Superb*, to your highness, to settle this matter in a most proper manner; and whatever he shall state in my name, I beg your highness to consider as coming from me. I sincerely hope that this disagreeable business will be settled in the most amicable way, and it will give me the very highest satisfaction to convey, to my royal master, sentiments of real friendship from your highness."

Respecting the other part of Captain Keats's mission, the restoration of the Maltese who had been taken prisoners by the Algerines, Lord Nelson sent a separate letter to the Dey,

which conveyed the following remonstrance—"It has been with the sincerest sorrow and surprise, that I find the cruisers of your highness have taken several vessels belonging to the island of Malta, which, with its inhabitants, is under the protection and sovereignty of his majesty; and of course every Maltese vessel and inhabitant are as much British, as if belonging to London. The giving up these vessels, and crews, and making ample reparation for the damage they may have sustained, is so just,* that I will not allow myself to suppose your highness will hesitate one moment."

On his arrival off Algiers, Lord Nelson again wrote to Captain Keats: "Jan. 17th. We just see you, although not near enough to communicate; therefore I put down two or three things as they occur. You will not bring out any person for me to send to England from the Dey, on any account—all must now be settled. You have my confidence; you need only say, *we go on well, or ill—stay off here, or you may go*. The Dey will not know but every hour we may reappear." His highness, however, remained inflexible, and would not receive Mr. Falcon. Lord Nelson therefore sent word a few hours after the above note, that he approved of all Captain Keats's conduct; but with respect to Mr. Falcon's not being received, that was a point which, as the commander-in-chief, he would never give up. In another note on the same day, he added, "If not likely to end to your wishes, do not condescend to go to him, but leave Algiers in doubt of the event." Again at seven o'clock, P.M. "If you think it may be of any use to stand in to-morrow morning, do so; if not, join me here. I will not give up one iota of my original moderate demand. I should betray my trust if I did." And when writing to Earl St. Vincent, 19th of January, he adds, "Before the summer is out, I dare say the Dey of Algiers will be sick of his insolence, and perhaps have his head cut-off. I have recommended Mr.

* On the 19th of March, 1801, his highness Mustapha Dey, *bashaw* and governor of the warlike city of Algiers, had agreed and fully concluded, "that from the 7th of December last, 1800, the inhabitants of Malta should be treated upon the same footing as the rest of his Britannic majesty's servants."

Falcon to go to England, and then he will be able to explain every part of his conduct; it appears to me that it has been spirited, but perfectly correct." To Sir Evan Nepean, Lord Nelson subjoined the following testimony to the professional character of Captain Keats: "He has conducted himself like himself: he is one of the most sensible men, and best officers, I almost ever met with."

To Lord Hobart, Jan. 20th. "I have had much conversation with Captain Keats, but the whole of the conference with the Dey, if such a meeting can be called a conference, was nothing but rage and violence on the part of the Dey, and firmness on the part of Captain Keats; the stamp of whose character, if it were not so well known by his actions, is correctly marked by his sensible clear letters. I am convinced that Mr. Falcon had committed no impropriety, but that he was disagreeable on account of his spirited conduct. Your lordship will find him a very sensible, clear-headed man. I shall be anxious to receive his majesty's commands, and I will endeavour to withhold from hostilities until they arrive."

Lord Hobart, on the 7th of January, had informed the admiral, that his despatches of the 16th and 20th of October, were laid before the king, and that the vigilant and zealous attention therein manifested for the public interests, had afforded much satisfaction to his majesty, "and I am particularly commanded," said his lordship, "to express his majesty's most gracious approbation of the line of conduct, which, under the circumstances represented, you have deemed it advisable to pursue towards the regency of Algiers. . . It is, however, without doubt, of the greatest consequence at the present moment, to obviate the necessity of resorting to measures of force against the Barbary States, provided forbearance can be maintained without detriment to the dignity of his majesty's crown, or to the security of those who are placed under the protection of his government. The critical situation of the island of Corfu, and the whole of the Morea, cannot too strongly claim your lordship's attention; for the defence of which important countries, you have already made so excellent

a disposition of your cruisers. I entirely concur in the propriety of keeping a vessel at Naples for the personal security of the royal family." In a subsequent letter, Lord Hobart expressed the approbation of the cabinet, respecting the discretion and good sense with which the admiral's orders respecting Algiers had been executed by Captain Keats. Lord Hobart also added, "that it had appeared advisable to ministers, another communication should be made to the Dey of Algiers, in hopes that means might yet be found for procuring due satisfaction for the honour of the country, without having recourse to measures of decided hostility." The admiral in afterwards replying to this letter of Lord Hobart's, expressed the sincere pleasure with which he received his majesty's approbation of what had been done: "My line of conduct," added that great officer, "in obedience to the spirit of his majesty's instructions, has been simply this—to conciliate all, to protect all from French rapacity; and I have the satisfaction to think I have completely succeeded. My attention is constantly fixed upon Toulon, and I have no great reason to believe that the French will escape me, whatever may be their destination; and it is with real pleasure I can state to your lordship, and request you would state it to the king, that no fleet ever was in higher discipline, and health, and good humour, than the one I have the honour to command."

But to return from these transactions at Algiers, to the other important objects which the Mediterranean command embraced, and the admiral's extensive correspondence detailed. "Short as my force is of the enemy's fleet," said his lordship when writing to Lord Hobart (Jan. 4th,) "yet receiving from their Sicilian majesties, from Sir John Acton and Mr. Elliot, a statement of the very critical situation of that kingdom, in consequence of the insolent threats of Buonaparte, and their declaring that they look up, in their distress, to his majesty's fleet, what, my lord, could I do? I have ordered the Gibraltar to remain. My determination is never to abandon those faithful allies of our sovereign, and, sooner than withdraw the Gibraltar from Naples, to fight double our force. My heart,

my lord, is warm, my head is firm, but my body is unequal to my zeal. I am visibly shook, yet as long as I can hold out, I shall never abandon my truly honourable post."

To Earl St. Vincent, Jan. 11th.—"I had not, my dear Lord, forgot to notice the son of Lord Duncan. I consider the near relations of brother officers, as legacies to the service. On the subject of promotions, I beg leave to say a few words, because I feel now exactly as you have felt in a similar situation to mine; and I rejoice that you, my dear lord, are not only alive, but in office to bear witness to the truth of my words, which I should have quoted, even if you had not been in office, *that it was absolutely necessary merit should be rewarded on the moment; and that the officers of the fleet should look up to the commander-in-chief for their reward: for that otherwise the good or bad opinion of the commander-in-chief would be of no consequence.* You always promoted meritorious officers out of the Victory, and Ville de Paris, and many private ships, for their merit. The good effect was, that whatever was undertaken succeeded. I myself stand in that situation, and Hardy, rewarded by you as commander-in-chief. You know my dear lord, there is nothing you can desire me to do, that I shall not do with pleasure; and if I had known the intentions of the Admiralty respecting the lieutenant mentioned, he would certainly have been appointed; but having appointed a very gallant and meritorious officer, who had in a most particular manner distinguished himself on board the Isis at Copenhagen, it would have lowered me in the fleet, that my follower, who had performed gallant services under my eye, should be displaced. I trust you will be so good as to state, what you thought proper for the benefit of the service, to the Admiralty, and be my friend at the board. I have said enough for my friend to act upon, and I rely on your kind support. I shall certainly endeavour to imitate you, when you commanded here with so much advantage to your country. I shall not trouble you with complaints of ships, the board shall be answered. Thank God, the health of the fleet has been wonderful, and I wish I could add my own, however I hope to hold

out to meet the French fleet, *and after that I believe my career will finish.* In addition to my other cares, Sardinia must be guarded: the French most assuredly mean to invade it; first, I suppose, under a pretext for keeping us out of it, and then they will have it ceded to them. I have written to Lord Hobart on the importance of Sardinia, it is worth a hundred Maltas in position, and has the finest man-of-war harbour in Europe; they tell me it is superior to Beerhaven—in short, it has nothing but advantages; the mode of getting it is to be considered by ministers, but money will do anything in these days. To keep it, could not in the first instance cost half so much as Malta. I can have no reserves—I venture my opinion, ministers are not bound to follow it: I can have no views, but to benefit my country by telling all I know of situations, and how far they can be useful. My course is steady, and I hope some day, very soon, to fulfil the warmest wishes of my country, and the expectations of my friends; amongst whom in the first-rate quality I consider you my old and sincere friend, and I only hope you will be able at some debate to say,—***** [*left unfinished.*]

In writing at the beginning of this year to the Marquis of Hertford, Lord Nelson bore honourable testimony to the fame of his gallant and lamented brother, Admiral Lord Hugh Seymour. “I was honoured with your lordship’s letter by Mr. Seymour, the son of my oldest friend; who would at this moment, if it had pleased God to save his life, have most essentially served his king and country: I am very much pleased with Seymour, and have given him the first commission which has fallen since his arrival.” Throughout every station of life, however elevated or occupied, Nelson remembered his early friends. In a second letter to Admiral Sir Peter Parker during this year, he thus again expressed the sincerity of his gratitude. “I most sincerely condole with you, on the premature death of my dear friend and contemporary, and your son. In your grandson Peter, you possess every thing which is amiable, good, and manly—an officer and a gentleman. He is sure of my warmest and affectionate interest for his welfare,

as long as I live. Never whilst I breathe shall I forget your kindness to me, to which I owe all my present honours. May God bless you, my dear friend, and keep you in health many, many years." Again, when writing to another worthy character, Admiral Holloway, he thus cheered the spirits of that officer, on not being then employed. "I think, my dear Holloway, it must come at last; for, as you observe, your nerves are good, and your head I never heard disputed. Otway also will get a ship, and I hope his Culloden." Again, when writing to Captain Brabazon—"Although upwards of thirty years have passed away since we met, yet I can never forget your great kindness; and believe me nothing could give me greater pleasure, than an opportunity of being useful to any friend of yours. The loss of that very fine sloop the Raven has consequently sent all the officers to England, and although it would not probably have been in my power to promote your nephew at present, yet you may rely that I shall bear him in my mind, and a future occasion may offer. I hope some day, not very far distant, that I shall enjoy the pleasure of having you under my roof at Merton, where you shall have a most hearty welcome from, my dear Brabazon, your very old and much obliged friend—Nelson and Bronte."

In writing to Captain Freemantle at the beginning of January, he thus devoutly expressed his feelings respecting the threatened invasion by the French. "I trust, my dear Freemantle, *in God and in English valour*. We are enough in England, if true to ourselves. He may by chance injure us, but can never conquer a determined people." His lordship then wisely added, what it would be well if the generality of Englishmen would remember: *They who know the whole machine, can better keep it going than we who only see a very small part*. "Although I am naturally anxious for the issue of the attempt, yet I cannot doubt of the final event—it will be the ruin of that infamous Buonaparte, and give us an honourable peace. I should most assuredly rejoice to have you here, but we none of us see the inside of a port: I have twice taken shelter under the Madelena islands on the north end of Sar-

dinia, which form a very fine anchorage. The village, I am told, for I have not set my foot out of the Victory, contains forty or fifty small houses. As to Malta, it is a perfectly useless place for Great Britain; and, as a naval port to refit in, I would much sooner undertake to answer for the Toulon fleet from St. Helens, than from Malta, I never dare venture to carry the fleet there. I know your friends think differently from me, but they talk of what they know nothing about in that respect, and I know it from dear-bought experience. During the winter, generally speaking, I cannot get even a frigate from Malta, the westerly winds are so prevalent; and as they approach the Gulf of Lyons, they are blown to the south end of Sardinia. Perseverance has done much for us, but flesh and blood can hardly stand it. I have managed to get some fresh provisions from Roses in Spain, which with onions and lemons have kept us remarkably healthy. We are longing for the French fleet, which is to finish our hard fate."

To Lord Minto, January 11th.—"My dear Lord: You have allowed the effusions of your heart to go too far, but I own it was grateful to my feelings—now I desire you will never mention any obligations to me again. I assure you, on my word of honour, that George Elliot is at this moment, for his standing, one of the very best officers in our service, and his ship in high order. I placed him under Sir Richard Strachan's command off Cadiz, and he does nothing but praise him in every letter. I beg you will present my respects to Admiral Elliot;* I had the honour of being introduced to him twenty-two years ago, but never had the pleasure of sailing with him. His action with Thurot will stand the test with any of our modern victories.

"Your speech, my dear lord, was yourself, and there is not a tittle but every man who loves his country must subscribe

* Admiral John Elliot, when captain of the *Æolus* frigate, thirty-two guns, Feb. 28th, 1760, having in company with him the *Pallas* and *Brilliant* frigates, commanded by Captains Loggie and Clements, chased and engaged Thurot's squadron of the *Belleisle* 44, and two other frigates, the whole of which was taken. The Commodore Thurot died during the action.

to. I have not heard very lately from Naples, but I expect a vessel thence every hour. Their situation is very critical: Buonaparte threatens, if the king does not disarm his subjects, he will march another army into that kingdom. The king has positively refused. I have letters both from the king and queen, reposing the greatest confidence in our country: of my services they are sure. Sardinia, if we do not take very soon, the French will, and then we lose the most important island, as a naval and military station, in the Mediterranean. It possesses at its northern extremity the finest harbour in the world, it equals Tricomale. . . If I lose Sardinia, I lose a French fleet. Your partiality has said already, *Nelson has now done more than he had ever before accomplished*: I can assure you it shall be a stimulus to my exertions on the day of battle. I have seven, the French ten, Spaniards sixteen at Cadiz, and more going there daily from Carthage. I am now on my way to settle a little account with the Dey of Algiers; we had better be at open war than be insulted as we have been. Government has reposed great confidence in me, and I hope my conduct will meet their approbation. But, my dear friend, after all this almost boasting, what is man?—a child of the day! And you will scarcely credit, after all I have written, that the medical gentlemen are wanting to sur-vey me, and send me to Bristol for the re-establishment of my health. *Whatever happens, I have run a glorious race*. By the 20th of January I shall have been eight months at sea. Do not mention my health, I beg of you; it is *my* concern.”

That filial affection which was always so conspicuous in Lord Nelson's character, was never passed unrewarded when he observed it in those who had the happiness of serving under him; and it is the more necessary to cite an instance of his conduct in this respect, since the liberality of his mind induced him to conceal these friendly efforts from the officers he attempted to benefit. *I wish it*, he would exclaim, *to appear as a God-send*. He had been particularly struck with the conduct of Captain James Hillyer, of the *Niger*, towards a widowed mother, and with his generosity towards his brother

and sisters. Accordingly, on the 20th of January, when writing to Earl St. Vincent, he thus endeavoured to reward these virtues in the captain of the *Niger*: "Captain Hillyer is most truly deserving of all your lordship can do for him, and, in addition to his public merits, has a claim upon us. At twenty-four years of age he maintained his mother and sisters, and a brother, until I made him a lieutenant for his bravery a short time ago. For these reasons he declined the Ambuscade, which was offered him; because, although he might thus get his rank, yet if he were put upon half-pay, his family would be the sufferers. From all these circumstances, so honourable to Captain Hillyer, independent of his services, which every one thought would have obtained him promotion in the late war, I beg leave to submit, as an act of the greatest kindness, that as the *Niger* is a very fine fast-sailing frigate, well manned, and in most excellent condition, she may be fitted with the Madras's 32 carronades, which are not so heavy as her present nine-pounders, and that your lordship would recommend her being considered as a post ship,* either a thirty-two or twenty-eight. Captain Hillyer's activity would soon complete the additional number of men, and she would be an efficient frigate. I will not venture to say more; I am sensible of your attention to merit." Nor did this affectionate disposition warp his regard for the rules and discipline of the service; for in writing afterwards respecting a young officer, who had behaved improperly to his captain, and was in consequence to be brought to a court-martial, Nelson thus answered the intercession that had been made in the young man's favour, by a friend of Sir John Warren's: "We would all do everything in our power, to oblige so gallant and good an officer as our friend Warren; but what would he do, if he were here? exactly what I have done, and am still willing to do. The young man must write such a letter of contrition as would be an acknowledgment of his great fault, and with a sincere promise, if his captain will intercede to prevent the impend-

* In consequence of this application, a commission was sent out for Captain Hillyer, and the *Niger* established as a post ship.

ing court-martial, never to so misbehave again. On his captain's enclosing me such a letter, with a request to cancel the order for the trial, I might be induced to do it; but the letters and reprimand will be given in the public order-book of the fleet, and read to all the officers. The young man has pushed himself forward to notice, and he must take the consequence. We must recollect, my dear admiral, it was upon the quarter-deck, in the face of the ship's company, that he treated his captain with contempt, and I am in duty bound to support the authority and consequence of every officer under my command. A poor ignorant seaman is for ever punished for contempt to *his* superior."

The conduct of Spain towards Great Britain, in refusing to furnish our fleet with supplies, roused the indignation of Nelson, and, in writing to Mr. Frere, on the 23rd of January, he thus expressed his sentiments:—"If this goes on, you may acquaint them that I will anchor in Roses with the squadron, and receive our daily supplies, which will offend the French much more than our staying at sea. Refreshments we have a right to as long as we remain at peace." In another letter on the same day to Mr. Frere, he added: "I have just received information which leads me to believe that the French fleet is either at sea or on the eve of it, and bound to the eastward, towards Naples or Sicily. I am this moment making sail in the direction I think most likely to intercept them." On the 26th of January, our fleet accordingly anchored at Madelena, as a central situation which defended Sardinia, and enabled the admiral to cover Naples, and to be in the way of meeting the enemy should they be bound elsewhere. "I am distressed," said he, in writing to Sir John Acton on the 30th, "for frigates, which are the eyes of a fleet; for the terrible winter we have had has obliged me to send three into port to be refitted: however, I trust we shall fall in with the enemy, and do the business. Your excellency knows, that with all the care and attention possible, it has happened that fleets have passed each other; therefore I need not apprise you, how necessary it is to keep a good look-out for them." On

the same day he wrote to Mr. Elliot at Naples: "The non-appearance of the Gibraltar tells me what the answer of Buonaparte has been; nothing but insolence could be expected from him. My movements are regulated as my intelligence and opinion lead me to suppose the French fleet will act. Sardinia is certainly to be taken by them, and I do not believe I can prevent it."--Again, in writing to Captain Ball, on the 6th of February: "We are, my dear friend, at the eve of great events: 12,000 French troops are ready for embarkation at Toulon, and 16,000 at Nice, and as they have not transports, they must naturally expect more ships of war."

"The storm is brewing," added his lordship, in writing to Mr. Jackson, 10th of February, "and there can be little doubt that Sardinia is one of the first objects of its violence. We have a report, that the visit of Lucien Buonaparte is to effect an amicable exchange of Sardinia for Parma and Piacenza. This must not take place, or Sicily, Malta, Egypt, &c. &c. &c. are lost sooner or later. What I can do to ward off the blow shall be done, as I have already assured his royal highness the viceroy. From Marseilles to Nice, there are not less than 30,000 men ready for embarkation. Should Russia go to war with France, from that moment I consider the mask as being thrown off, with respect to any neutrality of his Sardinian majesty: therefore, if that should be the case, would the king consent to two or three hundred British troops taking post upon Madelena? it would be a momentary check against an invasion from Corsica, and would enable us to assist the northern part of Sardinia. You will touch upon this matter in the way you think most prudent, or entirely omit it; but there is only this choice,—to lose the whole of Sardinia, or allow a small body of friendly troops to hold a part at the northern end of the island: *we may prevent, but cannot retake*. . . . Sardinia is the most important post in the Mediterranean. The wind which would carry a French fleet to the westward, is fair from Sardinia; and Madelena is the most important station in this most important island. I am told that the revenue, after paying the expenses of the island, does not give

the king 5000*l.* sterling a year. If it be so, I would give him 500,000*l.* to cede it, which would produce him 25,000*l.* a year for ever. This is only my conversation; but the king cannot long hold Sardinia." In a subsequent letter, his lordship added, "*entre nous*, it is not the interest of the Sardinians to remain as they are: the peasantry are oppressed with small taxes, and the nobles are detested."

On the 8th of February, Lord Nelson took shelter in Madelena harbour from the blowing and severe weather that prevailed. According to his diary, "the fleet ran in under reefed foresails through the eastern passage, which looked tremendous from the number of rocks, and the heavy sea breaking over them; but it is perfectly safe when once known. Captain Ryves' mark of the pedestal rock can never be mistaken." In writing from Madelena to Sir J. Acton, 10th of February, his lordship endeavoured to buoy up the dejected spirits of the Sicilian court: "What a most zealous man can do, my dear Sir John, to meet all points of difficulty, shall be done. My squadron is the finest for its numbers in the world, and much may be expected from it; and should superior numbers join, we must look them in face—*Nil desperandum!* God is good, and our cause is just. I have no doubt Egypt is the favourite and ultimate object of the Corsican tyrant. I beg you will assure their majesties, that Nelson is Nelson still, and most zealously attached to their service." And in writing to General Vilettes, he preserved the same firmness: "I expect that the Ferrol squadron will get to Toulon, if so, they will have fifteen sail of the line; but what a fleet like this I have the honour to command can do, will be done—*there are nine of us!*"* On the 11th, he also sent the following letter to the grand vizir:

* One of these nine, Captain Whitby, was brought up and patronized by the Hon. W. Cornwallis; and soon afterwards was sent for to serve under that great officer. Lord Nelson, in writing respecting this to Admiral Cornwallis, said, "As my old acquaintance and shipmate, Captain Hargood, is not arrived, I have directed Whitby to remain a short time in the Belleisle, in order to reap the harvest of all his toils; he has had uphill work in her, and I should wish him to enjoy the fruit alongside a Frenchman. I assure you I am not singular in regretting the loss of Whitby from our little squadron, it is universal."

"If the French unite their fleets outside of the Mediterranean with that at Toulon, it is not the Sublime Porte's being at peace with Buonaparte, that will prevent an invasion of both the Morea and Egypt: your highness knows them too well, to put any confidence in what they say. Buonaparte's tongue is that of a serpent oiled. Nothing shall be wanting on my part, to frustrate the designs of this common disturber of the human race." On the same day, a few lines, with his wonted judgment, were addressed to his highness the new capitan pasha: "My letters inform me that you are appointed, by the grand seignior, capitan pasha, in the room of his late highness; on which high honour allow an old friend most sincerely to congratulate you; and to wish that you may long live to enjoy it, and increase the splendour of the Ottoman arms. Your highness will soon have to fight the French; for the perfidious Buonaparte will certainly, if he can, attack some part of the Ottoman empire. You have my sincere prayers for a complete victory over them." On the memorable St. Valentine's day, 14th of February, he sent the following letter to his old commander, Earl St. Vincent. "Most cordially do I hail, and congratulate you on the return of St. Valentine; and may you, my dear lord, live in health to receive them for many, many years. This morning also your nephew, Captain Parker, has very much pleased me, as indeed he always does. On Sunday, the 12th, I sent him to look into Toulon: as he was reconnoitering when under Cape Sepet, he saw a frigate rounding Porqueroll, the wind was right out of the harbour at north. At first the frigate seemed desirous to bring him to action; but the determined approach of the Amazon made her fly with every rag of sail: she ran through the grand pass, and got under Breganson, some of the ships hoisted their yards up. I am rather glad Parker did not bring her to action, for I think they must have come out and taken him; but I admire his spirit and resolution to attack her under all the disadvantages of situation; and such conduct will some happy day meet its reward."

Notwithstanding his intelligence of the Toulon fleet being

ready to put to sea, which the admiral continued to receive, they were still unwilling to encounter an inferior force, since it was commanded by Nelson, and therefore for the present remained in port. A small squadron of French frigates, however, got alongshore into Ville Franche; and under cover of the dark nights, during the northerly gales of wind, crossed over to Corsica with 1000 men. From the number of troops at that time collecting in the south of France and northern parts of Italy, together with the preparation of transports both at Genoa and Leghorn, and intelligence that the French army had baked a month's bread, the admiral was of opinion, as he informed Mr. Frere whilst off the Hieres Islands, March 8th, that an expedition must be intended. On the 17th he wrote as follows to Captain Gore. "The admiralty seem to think that the Spaniards may be hostile to us, and therefore have put me on my guard. Do not let it escape your lips—I am determined to have the first blow; even if they come with their whole eighteen they shall not join the French. If they come up the Mediterranean, and you have a mind for a shooting party, come with your frigates. Every part of your conduct is like yourself, perfect. Your letters will be answered formally."

To Earl St. Vincent, March 17th. "My dear Lord: Whilst I have your support, and the officers of the fleet look up to me, I can do any thing which the number of ships can allow the warmest wishes of my friends to anticipate. Take that from me, and I am nothing. I am the child of opinion, and the admiralty can with their breath destroy it. But I rely with confidence upon you, my dear lord, and that alone keeps me up. My general health, I think, within this last fortnight is better; but my sight is much fallen off, I have always thought I should be blind. If I can but meet the French fleet, and do the thing well, I shall certainly ask for rest; it is necessary for me. I have sent your nephew this morning, to see *if he can lay salt upon the tail of a French frigate*: I every day see new and excellent traits in him. Hardy is his great pattern about his ship, and a better he could not have.

I have only to hope the *restless animal Buonaparte* will be upset by Frenchmen, and then we may have some quiet.”—To Sir T. Troubridge, March 17th. “My dear Troubridge: You must have reading enough, and your letters convey to you only complaints and misery, of ships and men. I have none to make: we are all cheerful and healthy, and our expenditure of stores has been, comparatively speaking, nothing. The French want to get out, and we want them out. Yesterday two of their frigates were outside Hieres, peeping to know if we were gone to the devil. Ball is sure they are going to Egypt; the Turks are sure they are going to the Morea; Mr. Elliot at Naples, to Sicily; and the king of Sardinia, to his only spot.—Your son cannot be anywhere so well placed as with Donnelly.”

From the year 1803, a more intimate acquaintance, if it were possible, than ever, had taken place between the Duke of Clarence and Lord Nelson. The conversations they had previously had together, and their concurrence in political opinions, brought on a confidential correspondence. At the conclusion of a long and most interesting letter to his royal highness, in which Nelson pointed out how very erroneous the opinions of some of our ablest ministers, and even of the French themselves, had been, respecting a thorough knowledge of the Mediterranean, the admiral added, “I have often sat and smiled to hear grave and eminent senators expatiate on the importance of a place, which I well knew was of no importance to us. I think I have told your royal highness enough, to induce you at all times to steer clear of possessing it.”

To Sir J. Duckworth, March 19th. “There is not a man in the world, that rejoices more at the happy conclusion you have given to the French expedition to St. Domingo, than myself, and for all your well-earned successes: your perseverance deserves to be amply rewarded. Now you have done with the French, unless you can get hold by agreement with the *sold* Spaniards, of their part of St. Domingo, (for I hope in God we shall never attempt to possess any portion of the other part of that island,) although I see all the danger of a

black republic, yet I trust we shall be very particular in making a treaty of commerce with them. It is a nice game to play; but if you are contented, I am sure it is in able hands. I hope to hold out, to beat your friend Admiral Latouche Treville, who took the command at Toulon the moment of his arrival there. He was sent for on purpose, as *he beat me at Boulogne, to beat me again; but he seems very loth to try.*" —To Sir R. Bickerton, April 7th. "As the enemy's fleet has been out,* and may still be at sea, I should be very sorry to baulk their inclinations of a battle by their superiority of numbers. You will therefore, whenever I make the signal, haul from us to the southward, furl your topgallant sails so as not to be discovered from the shore, and just keep sight of us from the masthead; and make the signal for your division (except Excellent, who is going towards Toulon) and do you call in Belleisle, unless I should call her by signal to me."

In two letters which Lord Nelson sent during the month of March, to Sir John Acton and Mr. Foresti at Corfu, he reverted to the subject of the future conduct of Russia. To Sir John Acton his lordship put the following question, "Will Russia come forth as she ought, or are her plans only preparative to the taking possession of Greece, and of course Constantinople? This is a subject I have no business at present to enter into, although it is seriously in my mind." To Mr. Foresti he spoke more explicitly: "The ultimate views of Russia become every hour more distinct; how long the mask may be kept on I cannot say, but sooner or later the Morea will belong by conquest to Russia. What part Great Britain may take, the connections which Russia may form will point out. However, we are at present on the most friendly terms with the emperor, and I hope we shall always continue so. I have said enough to so sensible a man as yourself."

To Mr. Elliot, the 26th of April. "I feel much obliged by

* The French fleet came out of Toulon on the fifth of April, and went in again the next morning. Lord Nelson when informing his Excellency Mr. Frere of this, added, "If they go on playing out-and-in, we shall some day get at them."

your communication of the interesting news from various powers of the continent. If Austria and Russia submit to the invasion of the German territory, the two young emperors deserve the worst which can happen. You will be sorry to hear of the loss of the Hindostan, Captain Le Gros, with all our stores; however, this being an accident which no human precaution could prevent, I must turn my mind how to do without them, and I dare say I shall do tolerably during the summer. But the capture of the Swift cutter, of four or six guns and 23 men, with all the despatches, is a loss which ages cannot do away. I hope, but I have great fears, that only the secrets of our own country are exposed,* yet those perhaps of Naples, Russia, Sardinia, and Egypt, may have been mentioned. I wish it to be known at Petersburg and Constantinople, in case any plan has been agreed upon between our courts: we must prepare for the worst; it has made me very uneasy and unwell. You will find Captain Malcolm a very intelligent good officer." In writing to Sir John Acton on the same day, the 26th of April, he still dwelt on Russia and Austria: "The emperor of Russia will, I hope, get his troops into Italy. The insult offered his father-in-law, cannot, if there is any spirit in a young emperor, be overlooked, and I should also hope the Austrian eagle is not humbled. If the emperor submits, it is not difficult to see that the imperial diadem will be removed from that family."

In writing, on the first of May, to Admiral Sir E. Pellew, who had expressed an inclination to serve under Lord Nelson, he replied, "You have always, my dear Sir Edward, proved yourself so equal to command a fleet, that it would be a sin to place you in any other situation, and my services are very nearly at an end; for in addition to other infirmities, I am nearly blind: *however, I hope to fight one more battle.*"

* In a subsequent letter to Sir John Acton, the admiral reverts to these despatches:—"I have received duplicates of my despatches taken in the Swift: the reading of them will rather mortify Buonaparte, for they breathe throughout such a spirit of moderation, and consideration for the situation of other countries, as to do honour to the hearts that dictated them."

The preparations which he had made to insure success, in case of such an event taking place, mark the great abilities of this extraordinary man. With him, everything was always ready, each difficulty forestalled, and throughout his fleet every officer, who had the happiness of serving in it, possessed clear ideas of the mode of attack which his admiral wished to adopt, should circumstances admit of it. A considerable latitude was also uniformly given to the experience and observation of such officers, as might be placed in situations that would render a change in any preconcerted plan advisable.

On the 28th of April, Lord Nelson had issued the following instructions, which are copied from the order-book of the Hon. Captain C. Boyle, then of the Seahorse. "As it is my intention to attack the French fleet in any place where there is a reasonable prospect of getting fairly alongside of them, and as I think that in Hieres Bay, Gourjean Bay, Port Especia, Leghorn Roads, Ajaccio, and many other places, opportunities may offer of attacking them; I therefore recommend, that every captain should make himself, by inquiries, as fully acquainted with the above places as is possible. . . In going in to attack an enemy's fleet, it is recommended to have the launch out, and hawsers and stream-anchors in her, and with any other boats, to lie out of gun-shot, ready to cut as circumstances may require. Ships in bringing up, will anchor as their captains may think best from circumstances of winds, weather, and the position of the enemy. But I strongly recommend having the four large anchors clear for letting go, because I know from experience the great difficulty, with crippled masts and yards, of getting an anchor over the side; and it is probable that it may be necessary to remove the ship after an action, and to leave some of her anchors behind. The ships will anchor in such a manner as to give each other mutual support for the destruction of the enemy."

In writing during the month of March to Mr. Stoddard at Genoa, his lordship thus answered some objections that had been made respecting the blockade of that port, and the seizure of vessels: "It is my bounden duty, Sir, to make these

seizures, and they will be continued until the Admiralty order the contrary. Whether the Admiralty be right, or wrong, in giving these orders, is not my business: obedience is my duty. . . Eleven years' experience has taught me how to blockade Genoa, or any other port in the Mediterranean, and the capture of vessels breaking the blockade, is, I believe, a full proof of it. I have the honour to be, Sir, with great respect, &c." In a subsequent letter he added, "In my humble opinion, vessels of war never ought to be seen from Genoa; and if I knew of forty sail intending to leave Genoa for Cadiz or Lisbon, for instance, I should order a look-out to be kept for them more particularly in the Gut of Gibraltar, than any other place: and from my knowledge of Genoa and its Gulf, I assert without fear of contradiction, that the nearer ships cruise to Genoa, the more certain is the escape of vessels from that port, or their entrance into it insured." Again, in another letter, the 16th of June: "I am blockading Genoa, &c., and am continuing it in the way I think most proper. Whether modern law or ancient law makes my mode right, I cannot judge; and surely of the mode of disposing of a fleet, I must, if I am fit for my post, be a better judge than any landsman, however learned he may appear. It would be the act of a fool to tell Europe where I intend to place the ships, for the purpose of effectually obeying my orders; not a captain can know it, and their positions will vary, according to information I may receive: therefore, if I were so inclined, I can assure you, upon my word, that I cannot at any one moment tell the most likely spot to intercept the commerce of Genoa and Espacia. I endeavour, as well as I am able, to obey my orders, without entering into the nice distinctions of lawyers. I will not further take up your time on a subject which, without being a lawyer, merely as a man, could have admitted of no dispute."

The following letter, that was furnished by the Countess Nelson, contains a passage which is very descriptive of the character and feelings of her noble brother-in-law. It was addressed to Dr. Allot, Dean of Raphoe, in Ireland, dated

May 14th. "... I remember you, dear Sir, most perfectly at Burnham, and I shall never forget the many little kindnesses I received from your brother, with whom I was always a great favourite. Most probably I shall never see dear, dear Burnham again; but I have a satisfaction in thinking that my bones will probably be laid with my father's, in the village that gave me birth. Pardon this digression—but the thought of former days brings all my mother into my heart, which shows itself in my eyes. May heaven, my dear Sir, long preserve you in health, for the sake of your family and friends; and amongst the latter allow me to place the name of your very faithful servant—Nelson and Bronte."

During the spring of this year, some young artillery officers serving on board the bomb-vessels that were attached to the Channel and Mediterranean fleets, had refused to allow their artillery-men who were embarked, to do any duty but what related to mortars: which in cases of such emergency as ships are constantly liable to when at sea, occasioned endless disputes and cabals, and in consequence, the naval officers loudly complained of the conduct they were obliged to endure. The whole of this had grown out of a circumstance relative to a court-martial, at which a soldier had been tried for misbehaviour. Eminent legal men, amongst whom are said to have been Sir W. Scott, and the king's advocate, gave their opinion in support of the authority of the captain of the ship. A clause was however afterwards discovered, which seemed to support the opinion on which the artillery officers had acted. What had passed being represented to Lord Nelson, he immediately wrote the following letters to Sir T. Troubridge, and Earl St. Vincent.—"My dear Troubridge: You will see that I have been obliged to write a letter to the admiralty, on the subject of soldiers embarked on board ships of war; and I have written it strong, as I know it must go further than your board. It is the old history—trying to do away the act of parliament; but I trust they will never succeed—for when they do, farewell to our naval superiority. We should be prettily commanded. You may say, 'they are not intended to command the navy,

but that the navy is not to command soldiers on board a ship. Let them once gain the step of being independent of the navy on board a ship, and they will soon have the other, and command us. It may be said, if the soldiers behave improperly, they would be tried by a court-martial on shore: were that possible, of what members would that court be composed? mostly subalterns, I fancy, who, although we might think the officer had behaved very improperly, might and probably would think that he had behaved very properly to us sea-brutes. But thank God, my dear Troubridge, the king himself cannot do away the act of parliament. Although my career is nearly run, yet it would imbitter my future days and expiring moments, to hear of our navy being sacrificed to the army. I can readily conceive the attempts of the army at this moment, when they think themselves of such great importance. The admiralty order might lead those wrong, who do not know that nothing but an act of parliament can do away an act of parliament. Ever, my dear Troubridge, yours most faithfully —Nelson and Bronte.”

In a letter on the preceding day, May 25th, to Earl St. Vincent, Lord Nelson had expressed himself still more decidedly on a subject that was so near his heart. “There is no real happiness, my dear lord, in this world: with all content and smiles around me, up start these artillery boys, I understand they are not beyond that age, and set us all at defiance; speaking in the most disrespectful manner of the navy and its commanders, &c. I know you, my dear lord, so well, that with your quickness, the matter would have been settled, and perhaps some of them been broke. I am perhaps more patient, but I do assure you not less resolved, if my plan of conciliation is not attended to, You and I are on the eve of quitting the theatre of our exploits; but we hold it to our successors, never, whilst we have a tongue to speak, or a hand to write, to allow the navy to be in the smallest degree injured in its discipline by our conduct. If these continued attacks upon the navy are to be carried on every two or three years, it would be much better for the navy to have its own corps of artillery: the pre-

sent case is indeed with lads, but they are set on by men, I can see that very clearly.

“The new emperor (bravo, Corsican !) will I hope begin his reign by ordering his fleet to come out ; for if they do not very soon, they will wear us out, and most particularly myself. My health has suffered very much, but I am as happy in the command as man can be.”

He again also touched on the same subject, in writing to Admiral Sir Charles Pole : “I am sure Lord St. Vincent ought to feel grateful for your zealous support of his measures ; and I hope, my dear Pole, you will stand by the navy* against all attempts to have soldiers placed in our ships, independent of the naval act of parliament, from whatever quarter it may be attempted : when that takes place, there is an end of our navy, there cannot be two commanders in one ship. We are all as happy as a set of animals can be, who have been in fact more than a year at sea, or rather without going ashore : for with the exception of anchoring under the northern end of Sardinia, not a ship has been to a naval yard to refit during that time. Hope keeps us up.” Again, when writing to Mr. Foresti at Corfu, the diligence with which our fleet had watched the French is described. “The only place to guard against a *coup de main* from, was Toulon, where 12,000 troops are ready for embarkation : this I have taken effectual care to prevent, by a perseverance at sea never surpassed in the annals of the world—not a ship in this fleet has been into any port to refit since the war, and to this moment I never have had my foot out of the ship.”†

When writing on the same day to the Hon. G. Rose, he mentioned another subject, to which he had directed his mind : “Many months ago, I had written a memoir upon the

* Admiral Pole obeyed the injunction of his friend, and lost no opportunity to render lasting benefit to the service. In consequence of what then occurred in the Mediterranean, four companies of marine artillery were established.

† Lord Nelson never went out of the *Victory* but three times, and then on the king's service, from his leaving England in 1803, to his return in August 1805 ; and none of these absences from his ship exceeded an hour.

propriety of a flotilla : I had that command at the end of last war, and I know the necessity of it, even had you, and which you ought to have, thirty or forty sail of the line in the Downs and North Sea, besides frigates, &c. But having failed so entirely, in submitting my thoughts upon three other points, I was disheartened : they were upon the speedy manning our navy at the commencement of the war, inducing the seamen to fly into the naval service, instead of from it, and for the better payment of prize-money. I have not the vanity to think that any of my plans were perfect ; but they were intended to lead others to bring forth better. Nothing has been done, and yet something was and is necessary."

In some of his private letters, on subjects not immediately connected with his professional career, occasional marks of character are introduced : "I am so little versed in business," said Nelson, when writing to his steward at Bronte, "that I hardly know how to answer your letter. Ungrateful as the Brontese have behaved, yet the prince * * shall never, upon any consideration, be their master for an hour. In Sicily, I suppose, they have certain forms and customs as we have in England. The gentry may forget that I am master. I consider that we deal on the strictest honour, *our words are our bonds*. You may assure the Brontese, that I shall never consent to say thing which can oppress them. At this moment I can only think of the French fleet." In a letter afterwards to a noble Spaniard, his lordship said, "I can assure you, sir, that the word of honour of every captain of a British man of war, is equal not only to mine, but to that of any person in Europe, however elevated his rank." Upon writing to his brother-in-law, Mr. Matcham, "I fear my friends think," said his lordship, "that I neglect those I ought to be attentive to ; but be assured, my dear Mr. Matcham, that whether I write or not, my heart always stands in the right place to you, my dear sister, and her family."

On the 24th of May, Monsieur Latouche Treville again stood out of Toulon with a few ships, and nearly brought to action the Canopus, Donegal, and Amazon, which had been

detached to reconnoitre the enemy. The main body of our fleet had remained far out of sight of land, and the weather being fair, Rear-Admiral Campbell in the *Canopus* had been tempted to stand in close to the port. On the near approach of our ships it fell almost calm; when the French gun-boats stood towards them and began firing, which was returned. A moderate breeze springing up, five of the enemy's line-of-battle ships, and three heavy frigates, endeavoured to cut off our ships. Admiral Campbell, well knowing of what importance it was that his squadron should not be crippled by so superior a force, strove only to lead the enemy towards our fleet; but they having chased about five leagues from Toulon, during which a partial firing was kept up from our ships, and particularly from Sir R. Strachan in the *Donegal*, who with difficulty refrained from close action, the enemy was recalled at three-quarters past three P.M. About half past nine the *Canopus*, *Donegal*, and *Amazon* joined Lord Nelson, who sent the following letter to Admiral Campbell: "I am more obliged to you than I can express, for your not allowing the very superior force of the enemy to bring you to action. Whatever credit would have accrued to your own and your gallant companions' exertions, no sound advantages could have arisen to our country; for so close to their own harbour they could always have returned, and left your ships unfit, probably, to keep the sea. I again, my dear admiral, thank you for your conduct. Some day very soon, I have no doubt but an opportunity will offer of giving them fair battle; and that it may arrive very, very soon, is the most sincere wish of, my dear Campbell, your most obliged friend."

It was so extraordinary and rare a circumstance, for the French admiral to appear even without the port, in which he had been long blockaded by an inferior force, that Latouche Treville could not resist from declaring, *he had chased the whole British fleet, which had fled before him*. It was some months until Lord Nelson heard of this letter, which was almost too much for his anti-gallican spirit and love of truth to endure; and being already indignant at the falsehoods which Latouche

Treville had circulated at Boulogne, his lordship thus expressed his feelings, in a letter to Mr. Bulkeley. "You will have read of my running away from Mons. Latouche; but, as I have written to the Admiralty, if my character is not established by this time for not being apt to run away, it is not worth my while to put the world right. I never was more surprised than to see the fellow's letter; but the next French paper makes a sort of apology." And in writing to Captain Sutton he said, "I have every reason to think, that if this fleet gets fairly up with Mons. Latouche, his letter, by all his ingenuity, must be different from his last. We had fancied that we had chased him into Toulon; for blind as I am, I could see his water-line when he clued his topsails up, shutting in Sepet; but from the time of this meeting Captain Hawker in the Isis, I never heard of his acting otherwise than as a paltroon and a liar. Contempt is the best mode of treating such a miscreant." His lordship afterwards, in writing to his brother William, added, "You will have seen, my dear brother, Latouche's letter; *how he chased me, and how I ran. I keep it; and if I take him, by God he shall eat it.*"

A letter to Dr. Baird, May 30th, describes the state of Lord Nelson's health at that time; which such incessant service in the cause of his country had greatly impaired. "The health of this fleet cannot be exceeded, and I really believe that my shattered carcase is in the worst plight of the whole of them. I have had a sort of rheumatic fever, they tell me. I have felt the blood gushing up the left side of my head, and the moment it covers the brain, I am fast asleep: I am now better of that, with violent pain in my side, and night-sweats, with heat in the evening and feeling quite flushed: the pain in my heart, not spasms, I have not had for some time. Mr. Magrath, whom I admire for his great abilities every day I live, gives me excellent remedies; but we must lose such men from our service, if the army goes on in encouraging medical men, whilst we do nothing. I am sure much ought to be done for our naval surgeons, or how can we expect to keep valuable men? I look to you, not only to propose it but to enforce it

to Lord St. Vincent, who must be anxious to preserve such a valuable set of men to the navy."

It appears from a letter sent by Lord Nelson to his excellency Count Woronzow, May 31st, that our government had allowed the emperor of Russia to continue a plan, he had before tried with older officers, of having some young men of distinction in that country educated in the British navy. They were accordingly distributed amongst our ships in the Mediterranean fleet, and are thus mentioned: "These gentlemen being lads, must be treated in a different manner to the grown-up officers we have formerly had. The allowance made them from the emperor, is I understand £40 a year, which sum is very well after the youngsters are fitted out, and the ship they are in has sailed; but to fit them out and keep them a year, it is by no means a sufficient sum. I would, therefore, propose, that the twelve lads who came out in the Royal Sovereign, should have all their outfit paid, and passage to Plymouth, and that the £40 a year should not commence until the day the Royal Sovereign sailed from Plymouth. It costs an English lad from 70 to £100 to fit him out, besides his yearly stipend; and these very fine lads must have hats, shoes, &c. and money for their mess. I do not think they will have many opportunities of spending their money ashore. I shall cause inquiries to be made into their little wants, and shall advance the money. They are exceedingly good boys, and are very much liked in the ships they are placed in."

On hearing that Buonaparte had at length placed himself on the throne of the house of Bourbon, and had established a military despotism in France under the august title of Emperor, Lord Nelson thus expressed his sentiments to Mr. Elliot, at Naples.—June 1st. "I have read your excellency's letters with much interest, now and then with sorrow. The politics of Europe will probably so completely turn upon a monarchical government being again formed in France, that I believe no one can guess what the two emperors of Russia and Germany will do. If they acknowledge Buonaparte as their brother, there is no great honour in being allied to their family; but

I think, in that case, it would give us peace. If they will not call him *brother*—gracious heaven! thy ways are hid from man, *Jack Corse brother to two emperors!* then I suppose we should have a general war; either way it must benefit both England and Naples. . . You may safely rely that I never trust a Corsican or a Frenchman; I would give the devil all the good ones, to take the remainder. I am close off Toulon, with Victory, Canopus, Donegal, Belleisle, and Excellent, in hopes to tempt Mr. Latouche out of port. . . You may be assured his Sardinian majesty shall want no support in my power to give him. The answer of Russia is unworthy of a great emperor to a little king, whom he pretends to protect; but such things are. I wonder that General Acton should for one moment believe the professions of General St. Cyr, more especially coming through the mouth of Micheroux, whom I knew of old. Did the French ever appear friendly, but for the purpose of more readily destroying those whom they *cajole*?—this word is English, though it writes very bad. I have more fears for Naples and Sicily than for Malta.”

“On the 4th of June, Mons. Latouche,” (as the admiral wrote to Sir R. Bickerton,) “sent out five sail of the line, but they came not one mile outside Sepet, formed a line, and at dark went in again, since which,” added Nelson, “he has been very quiet.” “Do not, my dear Ball,” he continued, in writing to Sir Alexander, June 7th, “do not think I am tired of watching Mr. Latouche Treville—I have now taken up a method of making him angry. I have left Sir Richard. Bickerton with part of the fleet twenty leagues from hence, and with five of the line am preventing Latouche from cutting capers. Mr. Latouche has several times hoisted his topsail yards up; and on the 4th of June, we having hoisted the standard and saluted, he sent some of his ships outside Sepet about one mile. I did not believe him in earnest; however we ran as near as was proper, and brought to. A ship of the line and frigate every morning weigh, and stand between Sepet and La Malue. Some happy day I expect to see him. Eight sail, which were seen in the outer road, are come out, and if

he will get abreast of Porqueroll, I will try what stuff he is made of; therefore you see, my dear Ball, I have no occasion to be fretful; on the contrary I am full of hopes, and command a fleet which never gives me an uneasy moment. I do most earnestly desire that you will not fail saying any thing to me that you please. I can never take it amiss. I cannot write another line. God bless you."

In a letter to Sir John Acton, Nelson makes some striking reflections on the change of the dynasty in France, and of the consequences it would occasion in Europe. "The following observations," said the admiral, "naturally arise from looking at Europe at this moment. The restoration of a monarchy in France, although it may be of disadvantage to the Bourbons, must be beneficial to Europe—the reign of republics is over for a century; and in particular, both Great Britain and Naples must feel the immediate consequence. If the two emperors of Russia and Germany do not acknowledge Buonaparte as emperor, then, if there be a grain of spirit left in them, they will go to war; and if it be prosecuted with vigour in Italy, I think that all the Italian republic and Piedmont may be restored. We have both, my dear Sir, lived long enough in the world to know, that nations are like individuals—*make it their interest to do what is right, and they will do it*; with very few exceptions of any man, or nation, being so devoid of principle as to act the part of a villain without an interest. Therefore, if the Italian republic were to be changed and submit to a monarch, I am sure, if the emperor of Germany, with a large army, promises his former subjects more privileges than they have enjoyed under Buonaparte, and also a *quietus* for their purchases of land, &c. they would return to their obedience, and probably behave better than ever. I feel much obliged for all the particulars you have given me, of the honourable reasons that induced you to retire to Palermo. I well know, that upon every occasion you sacrifice your own feelings, for the benefit of our dear good sovereigns; and that same feeling induces you not to desert them at this critical moment. I beg that your excellency will say, that I have received the

honour of their majesties' letters; and although in doing my very utmost I only perform my duty, yet that it shall be done with cheerfulness, and to the full extent of my abilities: the more their majesties may want my exertions to serve them, the more they shall be given, to the last drop of my blood. I have only to be told their wants and wishes, and as far as I am able they shall be complied with. I am in hopes to shame Latouche out of his nest; and when I reflect on his insult to my sovereigns, at Naples, in 1793, it will add vigour to my attack. My first object must ever be to keep the French fleet in check; and if they put to sea, to have force enough with me to *annihilate* them, and that, with God's blessing, I have no fear of being able to perform. That would keep the Two Sicilies free from any attack from sea. If the French fleet could carry 12,000 men into the bay of Naples, whilst their army was marching by land, the consequences would be fatal to that capital. The 2000 troops are ready at Malta, and it was only on the 7th, that I prayed General Villettes to keep them in readiness; and if your excellency were to think it proper to write a confidential letter to the general, I am sure he would be much flattered. I am glad to find Russia thinks properly, and, I trust there will be no jealousies; but that both countries will try who can best serve and save the Two Sicilies: temporizing may be necessary in small states, in large ones it ought not to happen—it is humiliating. Either peace, or 100,000 Russians and as many Austrians, in Italy; but I cannot help thinking that Buonaparte will wish for peace rather than a war with two empires. Again and again, my dear Sir John, you may rely upon me."

Writing to Sir John Warren, and Mr. Stratton at Constantinople, he again reverts to Russia and Austria: "The events which are daily happening through the ambition of Buonaparte, are much better known to you than they can be to me, who have now been at sea from the first day of the war, and never had my foot outside the ship. I hope Russia and Austria will assist the good cause, and Piedmont be restored to the king of Sardinia; but courts very seldom draw together, and it is the

more sincerely to be regretted at this time, when a common interest ought to unite them closely—but I am touching on a subject out of my depth. Mons. Latouche Treville seems inclined to try his hand with us, and by my keeping so great an inferiority close to him, perhaps he may some day be tempted.”

Lord Nelson thus proceeds with his political remarks, in writing to the grand vizir, June 13th.—“Buonaparte, by whatever name he may choose to call himself, general, consul, or emperor, is the same man we have always known, and the common disturber of the human race; it is much more dangerous to be his friend than his enemy. With the appearance of friendship he deceives; to be on the latter terms, the hand should be always on the sword. May God grant his imperial majesty health and length of days, and may your highness for many, many years guide his councils with your wisdom. I beg of your highness to assure his imperial majesty, that I am penetrated with his condescension in remembering my former exertions in the execution of my duty: whilst my health remains, they shall never cease. Other admirals will readily be found of probably more abilities, but none with more zeal to cement the harmony and perfect good understanding between our two good sovereigns. The French fleet is quite safe in Toulon, and for the summer they cannot readily escape without a battle. May God give the victory to the just cause!”

Amidst the different naval officers who during this year received the thanks and approbation of their admiral, was Captain B. Vincent of the *Arrow*; who in the ensuing year fought so gallant an action against a superior force of the enemy, when in company with another small vessel, the *Acheron*.—Captain Vincent, on the third of June, had made a most spirited attack on a French privateer under the island of Fano. Lord Nelson, in his official reply, expressed the great attention and deference which he always wished to be observed towards neutral vessels. “The destruction of the enemy’s privateers,” said he, “becomes an object of serious consideration, and certainly justifies an attack upon these

pirates. I therefore feel pleasure at your conduct in the destruction of the privateer before mentioned, and shall write to Mr. Foresti, his majesty's minister at Corfu, if necessary, to remonstrate against the conduct of these unprecedented and sanctioned pirates, as I did in the instance of the *Thisbe*: for certainly the neutral territory that does not afford protection, cannot be allowed to give it to the original breaker of the neutrality; and therefore from the offensive state of the privateer in question, and her firing upon the *Arrow's* boats, I cannot but approve of your having destroyed her. • But I must beg to be perfectly understood, that I would on no account have the neutrality broken, or disturbed, by his majesty's ships or vessels under my command firing upon any of the enemy's privateers, or endeavouring to destroy them under the protection of a neutral port, unless such privateers shall first use offensive measures, and fire upon his majesty's subjects; in which case they forfeit the protection of the neutral port, and ought to be destroyed if possible."—In a subsequent letter to Captain Vincent, during this year, Lord Nelson added, "I very highly approve of your complying with Mr. Foresti's request, in conveying his despatches to Venice, and landing the Russian courier at that place. I am much obliged by the information contained in your said letter and enclosures; and am particularly satisfied with the whole of your proceedings, in respect to the line of conduct necessary to be observed in the destruction of the enemy's privateers. I must beg to remark to you, the same as I have done to Captain Raynsford, 'I am clearly of opinion, that on the spot where the breach of neutrality has been committed by the French, the enemy has no right to claim the protection of neutrality, if he should be overpowered. I am sure it is the furthest from the wish of our government to break the neutrality of any state, although the French may; but it is no longer a neutral spot, if the French are permitted to commit hostilities against us.' "

On the change of ministers which took place during this year, in the month of May, Lord Melville succeeded Earl St. Vincent as first lord of the admiralty; the other members of

the board consisted of Admirals Gambier and Sir J. Colpoys, K.B., Captain Sir H. Burrard Neale, Bart,* Captain Philip Patten, and W. Dickenson, Esq.—On hearing of this event, Lord Nelson sent the following letter, dated June 18th, to Sir John Acton; who, at the desire of Buonaparte, had been obliged to resign his situation: “The great change of ministry cannot, unless it gives us peace, which I think by no means improbable, make any alterations respecting Russia, and the assistance which our country is in duty and honour bound to give Naples. I trust that Austria will also assist in preventing this new Charlemagne from possessing the old empire.—Mons. Latouche came out on the 14th. I was off the Hieres with five ships; he had eight of the line and six frigates. In the evening he stood under Sepet again, and I believe I may say, *we chased him into Toulon the morning of the 15th*. I am satisfied he meant nothing beyond a gasconade; but am confident, when he is ordered for any service, that he will risk falling in with us, and the event of a battle, to try and accomplish his orders.”

To his excellency Mr. Elliot, 18th of June. “By the Maidstone, Hon. G. Elliott, I was favoured with your truly interesting letters respecting the removal of Sir John Acton. The general must, I think, possess more than ever the confidence of both our own and the Russian ministry, from the very circumstance of his being so much hated by the French. Gallo and Micheroux never can, they have shown on all occasions too evident a partiality to the French, or, to say no worse, a dislike to us.” The admiral’s letters to the king and queen of Naples, repeated what has been already inserted respecting Sir John Acton’s resignation, and bore liberal testimony to the character of that minister.

His lordship again reverted to the subject of privateers, when writing to his excellency Mr. Jackson in Sardinia, and dwelt on the impropriety of their conduct. “I have been favoured with your account of what had passed at Civita Vecchia, respecting a Spanish vessel detained by an English

* Succeeded, in the ensuing month of July, by Sir Evan Nepean, Bart.

privateer. The conduct of all privateers is, as far as I have seen, so near piracy, that I only wonder any civilized nation can allow them. The lawful as well as unlawful commerce of the neutral flag is subject to every violation and spoliation; but I do not believe that any foreign power can make itself a judge, whether the detention be legal or not. The Spanish consul, if he thought the conduct of the English privateer wrong by an unjust detention, had only to apply to the court of vice-admiralty at Gibraltar or Malta. You know, my dear sir, that no person in our country can interfere with the laws. I am always sorry when unpleasant circumstances arise. You will see by the enclosed papers, the supposed improper conduct of the papal government at Ancona; but I do not enter into the subject, for I cannot be a judge by only hearing one side. I admit the very unpleasant situation of the papal government; for I am well aware, if they were just in their neutrality, that Buonaparte would take Rome from his holiness, as he has done before: I have always directed the neutrality of the papal state to be attended to."

His zealous mind was at that time so much alarmed, lest any new attempt should be made to modify the act of parliament respecting soldiers when embarked, that, on the change of ministry, he sent the following letter to Lord Melville, on his being appointed to succeed Earl St. Vincent at the Admiralty.—June 21st. "My dear lord: in case Earl St. Vincent, and Sir Thomas Troubridge, should not send you my letters to them, respecting the conduct of soldiers embarked to serve in his majesty's ships, I think it of great consequence to the naval service, you should be informed of my sentiments upon that subject. It requires not the gift of prescience to assert, if soldiers embarked in ships of war are not, as heretofore, left subject to the act of parliament for the government of his majesty's ships, vessels, and forces by sea, wherein, as our forefathers said, the safety, wealth, and prosperity of the kingdom chiefly depend; that the navy, which we have all heretofore looked up to, will be ruined. The absolute power must remain; there cannot be two commanders in one ship,

nor two sets of laws to regulate the conduct of those embarked in the same bottom. "I will not, my lord, take up your time in debating, whether it would be better for the navy to be subject to the same articles of war as the army; but ye may take a lesson from the epitaph, *I was well—I would be better—and here I am*: my opinion is, let *well* alone."

In a letter to Lord Hawkesbury, 22d of June, Nelson reverted to his favourite subject of Sardinia. His wish to save that island from being suddenly surprised by the invasion of French troops from Corsica, had alarmed the king, and awakened the jealousy of some of the foreign ministers: "His majesty," says the admiral, "was supported by the Russian minister, and your lordship's words were quoted to me: the consequence will be the loss of Sardinia—either France or England must have it. The loss to us will be great indeed, I do not think that the fleet can then be kept at sea. From Sardinia we get water and fresh provisions; the loss of it would cut us off from Naples except by a circuitous route, for all the purposes of getting refreshments, even were Naples able to supply us. I have hitherto watched Sardinia; but at this moment, when from the bad condition of many of the ships under my command I can barely keep a sufficient force at sea to attend to the French fleet, I have not ships to send to Madelena; not less, my lord, than ten frigates and as many good sloops would enable me to do what I wish, and what of course I think absolutely necessary. But I am aware of the great want of them in England, and that other services must be starved, to take care of home. If I were at your lordship's elbow, I think I could say so much upon the subject of Sardinia, that attempts would be made to obtain it; for this I hold as clear, *that the king of Sardinia cannot keep it, and, if he could, that it is of no use to him*. That if France gets it, she commands the Mediterranean, and that by us it would be kept at a much smaller expense than Malta: from its position it is worth fifty Maltas. Should the war continue, the blockade of Marseilles is a measure absolutely essential, and the points necessary for us to occupy are to be considered, and I think

I could satisfy your lordship of the probability of holding those positions : nothing could distress France so much, and make her wish for peace with us at present. Not less than forty sail a week go into Marseilles : . . . I will not trouble your lordship with a longer letter, on the various objects well worthy of consideration within the Mediterranean, and which the experience of eleven years has made me turn my thoughts to."

To Lord Melville, 22d of June. . . . "It is to redeem the solemn pledge I have made, never to omit, upon any change of administration, stating the just claim which I consider the battle of Copenhagen has to the reward of medals, such as have been given for other great naval victories : I therefore enclose for your lordship's perusal a statement of facts, and the letters which passed between me and Earl St. Vincent upon that occasion ; and when your lordship has leisure time, I request your perusal of them. . . . I am aware, my lord, that his majesty has the most undisputed right to bestow medals, or to withhold them, as he pleases. No man admits it more fully than myself ; but, my lord, I turn back to the first of June, 1794 ; from that moment I have ever considered, that his majesty, by implication, pronounced these words to his fleet, holding forth the medal—*This, my fleet, is the great reward which I will bestow for great and important victories like the present.* Considering this as a solemn pledge, his majesty gave it as the reward for the battles of St. Vincent, of Camperdown, and of the Nile : then comes the most difficult achievement, the hardest-fought battle, the most glorious result that ever graced the naval annals of our country : the medal is withheld, for what reason Lord St. Vincent best knows. Could it be said the Danes were not brave ? the contrary has always been shown. Was our force so superior that there was no merit in gaining the victory ? if guns made the superiority, the Danes were very superior. If it be said, ay, but your ships were superior : to that I can answer, that the force placed by the Danes for the preservation of their arsenal, their fleet, and the city of Copenhagen, was such, and of that description of vessels, which they thought inexpugnable by

any force that could be brought against it. I have no more to say, but beg to refer your lordship to the papers sent herewith; and I hope, in the name of those brave commanders who were under my orders on the glorious 2d of April, 1801, for your recommendation to his majesty, that he may be pleased to bestow that mark of honour on the battle of Copenhagen, which his goodness has given to the battles of St. Vincent, the first of June, of Camperdown, and of the Nile."

On Mr. Addington's leaving the helm of state, his friend, Lord Nelson, sent him the following letter, dated the 30th of June.—"My dear Sir: Friend I may call thee now, without the suspicion of adulation to a minister; but believe me, that my opinion of your abilities as a minister, and your constant friendship for me as a man, have ever held the same place in my heart: I feel pride in avowing it now you are a private gentleman. I will not say too much; because when a change takes place, if honourable men are to hold the helm, I am sure amongst the foremost will be placed one Henry Addington, whose sincere friend is ever his attached and obliged—Nelson and Bronte."

In writing to the Queen of Naples, the 10th of July, he thus delivered his judicious opinion respecting the conduct of Russia, and other great powers, as opposed to France. "It would be presumption in me, Madam, to venture by letter on any political subject with your majesty; but I cannot help wishing Europe to be the bundle of sticks against France. If it be good to temporize, let all do it; if to go to war, let all go to war. Upon this principle, I have wished that Russia should have avoided a war, unless joined by Austria; then, acting with honour towards each other, much might have been expected from such a coalition. But if Russia only sends men and ships to the Ionian republic, and the Morea, I am decidedly of opinion, it endangers Naples much more than bowing to the storm for the moment. Not less than 50,000, it ought to be 100,000 Russians, can effectually secure Italy. To say the truth, I do not think that either in the last war, nor according to all appearances in the present,

are our plans upon that grand scale which would bid fairest to keep France within due bounds. Little measures can only produce little effects." I dare not let my pen run on; your majesty's comprehensive mind will readily see what great things could be done in the Mediterranean. It is here that Buonaparte is most vulnerable; it is here much easier, than on the Rhine, to mortify his pride, and to humble him to reasonable terms of peace. I beg your majesty's pardon for delivering my opinion so freely." In writing to Sir John Acton, he enforced the same ideas:—"Admiral Ganteaume, I see, has hoisted his flag at Brest; a sure indication to my mind, that at least a part of that fleet is destined for the Mediterranean. It is in this country that Buonaparte wishes to make himself great, and therefore this is the country where large armies and fleets should be placed. I trust our government will take care not to allow a superiority, beyond my power of resistance, to get into the Mediterranean. I calculate upon no joint exertion of the Russian fleet, even should the emperor go to war; and if it is only a war of manifestoes, as Catherine's war, and sending troops to the Morea, and Ionian republic, I do not see any good either to Naples or England from it; indeed, I fear such a war would much endanger both Naples and Sardinia."

The anxiety with which he at that time watched his gasconading enemy in Toulon, was much increased by the tempestuous weather which our crazy ships with their exhausted stores had to encounter. Although the spirit of Nelson pervaded the whole squadron and surmounted every difficulty, yet the fatigue of mind which he thus constantly endured with a weak and sickly frame, is hardly to be credited. On the 17th of July, his agitation at the thoughts of having suffered some of the French ships to escape, is thus described in a hurried note which he addressed to Admiral Campbell: "The French ships have either altered their anchorage, or some of them have got to sea in the late gales: the idea has given me half a fever." In the afternoon Captain Moubray made the signal of the enemy being all in harbour; this, however, did not quite allay the admiral's agitation, as expressed

in another note, which he sent to Sir R. Bickerton: "I have been in a little alarm at the idea of Mons. Latouche having given me the slip, and it is not quite cleared up. I am sending Active and Thunder off Marseilles for information; for I am sure if that admiral were to cheat me out of my hopes of meeting him, it would kill me much easier than one of his balls. Since we sat down to dinner Captain Moubray has made the signal, but I am very far from being easy. I shall place Seahorse and Amazon close in shore, in order to examine Toulon every way to-morrow."

Whilst Lord Nelson had been thus vigilantly observing the operations of the French fleet off Toulon, his friend Captain Hallowell had proceeded to Egypt with Elfi Bey, an artful and designing chief of the Mameloucs; who being obliged to leave Egypt, had endeavoured to impose on the liberality and integrity of the British nation. Captain Hallowell, on returning to Malta, in his letters to Lord Nelson and to Earl St. Vincent, entered at considerable length on the insidious character of this Bey, and transmitted much valuable information respecting the then state of Egypt... "I had strong reason to believe," said Captain Hallowell to Lord Nelson, "that Elfi Bey was not so firmly in our interest, as I had a right to expect he would have been from the very great attention he had received from the English government; and I took every opportunity of sounding him with respect to his disposition towards us and the French, repeatedly asking him, *Whether, if the French landed whilst I was in Alexandria, he would co-operate with me in the defence of the place?* But he would never give any other answer, than "that he would fight against *any* enemy who might attempt to possess his country." I told him that was not an answer to my question; and from the attention he had received from the English government, and the professions of friendship he had made towards the English nation, I had every reason to expect his co-operation, if the French should attempt a landing in Egypt; and that, if he would promise me the support of his Mameloucs, I would land 200 Englishmen to manage the artillery, and would answer for the French not getting

possession of Alexandria, before a reinforcement of English ships and troops arrived. To this he answered with great warmth, *If any enemy should attempt to land, I would devour the flesh from their bones*; and he enforced his expressions, by taking hold of his hand between his teeth, saying, *Thus I would treat them*. I then asked him, whether he would consider the French as enemies or friends, if they were to land? To which he would only answer, *They have been here once, and are gone away again, nor do I think they will ever return*: and I never could at any time extract a promise from him to oppose them, or to co-operate with me."—In a letter on the same subject to Earl St. Vincent, Captain Hallowell more clearly developed the real character of this crafty Mamelouc. A messenger had been despatched from two of the beys with a letter to his Britannic majesty's ministers, requesting the assistance of our government, with men and money, and soliciting our interference to prevent the return of Elfi Bey to Egypt: "Your lordship," adds Captain Hallowell to Earl St. Vincent, "will readily suppose that my astonishment must have been great, as I had always understood that Elfi Bey was the first character in that country, and that he had been deputed to negotiate for them with our government. In the course of my conversation with the messenger, he assured me that the bey was a troublesome character; that he was disliked by all the Mameloucs, who had explained his turbulent disposition to one of our generals, and had requested he would take him anywhere out of the country, or tranquillity would never be restored in Egypt. The fear of the capitan pasha's arrival with 50 or 60,000 troops, first induced Elfi Bey to think of going to Europe." Captain Hallowell concluded his letter to Lord Nelson with the following description of the state of Egypt. "Since the evacuation of Egypt by the English army, the country has been involved in warfare. The tyranny and oppression of the Turkish government have rendered them obnoxious to every description of people; and notwithstanding that the Porte has by a treaty of peace with the Mameloucs, ceded to them the possession of Egypt on the

same footing on which they held it before the French invasion, yet the Turks have not given directions to their governor to admit them into the garrisons of Alexandria or Aboukir; both of which they keep in their possession, although the peace has been confirmed to the Mameloucs by two different firmans from the Porte. The English name and character are respected throughout Egypt; and if at any time the people of the country have been induced to look to any other christian power for relief, I firmly believe it has proceeded from an idea that England had totally abandoned them. Every inhabitant of Alexandria, and all the Arabs with whom I could have any communication, are earnestly praying for the return of the English; but if they cannot succeed in being placed under our protection, they will be happy to receive the French, to secure themselves from the invasion of an oppressive and extortionate Turkish army.—Such is the general prepossession in favour of the English just now, that I am confident 4000 English troops and a little money, would secure us the co-operation of all ranks against the return of the French. Egypt at present holds out strong temptations, both to the English and French, to send an army thither: whichever party lands first will be fortunate.”

On the 31st of July, Lord Nelson, in order to shelter his fleet from the prevailing gales of wind, and to unload some transports which had arrived, made the signal to take shelter in the Gulf of Palma. The boisterous weather continuing the whole of the next day, they kept the anniversary of the first of August in that bay, which his lordship notices in writing to Sir A. Ball on the 3d. The mind of the governor of Malta, and his opinions, were congenial with those of Nelson, and a similarity of talent gradually cemented a friendship between them, which their first acquaintance* had by no means promised.

* Sir Alexander Ball first became acquainted with Nelson when he visited France in 1782, and resided for a short time at St. Omer's. They parted in some degree prejudiced against each other. After a long interval, they again met, when Captain Ball was attached to the squadron which Earl St. Vincent, in 1798, sent up the Mediterranean under Sir Horatio. The prejudice which he had imbibed at St. Omer's still remained, and on his first interview with Captain Ball, Nelson observed, “What do you expect by going with me, do you wish to get your bones broken?”—“I did not, Sir,” replied Captain Ball,

"I have received, my dear Ball," said his lordship, "your sketch of the views of the French in the Mediterranean, on the whole outline of which I perfectly agree with you; and on the smaller part there are only shades of difference. My opinion of the views of Russia has long been formed, and to this moment I see everything she does works to the same end—the possession of all European Turkey. I have delivered my opinion when in England, how this plan of Russia might be turned to much advantage for us, and how it would operate against France. I know the importance of Malta; but, my friend, I fancy I also know how far its importance extends: on this point we may differ, but we both agree that it never must be *even risked* falling into the hands of France. Look at the position of Sardinia, I have touched, I recollect, before upon that subject, and you should be viceroy. I have *warned* the folks at home, but I fear in vain: *Algiers will be French in one year after a peace*—you see it, and a man may run and read, that is the plan of Buonaparte. Respecting Egypt I agree with you most perfectly. And now, my dear Ball, I will not plague you with my nonsensical ideas any more; and have only to hope Mons. Latouche, who says in his letter to Paris that I ran away from him on June 14th, will give me an opportunity of settling my account before I go home, which cannot be much longer deferred, or I shall never go."—In a letter to Mr. Davison, his lordship added, I may say, as the famous De Witt did, *My Life I will freely risk for my country, but my Health I must take care of*. If the mind be not strong from good health, depend on it, the other faculties are in unison."

Writing to General Vilettes, he thus continued his political sentiments without reserve. "I am of no party: I hope and believe that any administration would ever act to the best of their judgment, for the power and advantage of their country.

"come into the service to save my bones: I know you are going on a perilous service, and I am therefore happy to go with you."—During the subsequent tempest in the Gulf of Lyons, the talents and greatness of mind of Captain Bull won the heart of Sir Horatio; and from that hour the utmost intimacy and mutual regard existed, as has been seen, between both these officers.

I am not one of those who think, that the safety of the state depends on any *one*, or upon one hundred men; let them go off the stage, and others would ably supply their places." In a previous letter to Mr. R. Wilbraham, he had said, "The coalition of parties the most opposite in principles ought not to surprise us. Wyndham and Fox may again meet at Holkham, and Pitt join the party—such things are. . Politicians are not like other men; and probably all other men would be politicians, if they had the sense." To Mr. Consul Duff, he thus delivered his opinion respecting the Spaniards, and Buonaparte's designs against them: "*I live in hopes yet to see Buonaparte humbled, and Spain resuming her natural rank amongst the nations*, which that clever scoundrel prevents: he wants to have her revolutionized, or that he should have more money for preserving the name of the Spanish monarchy. I sincerely hope England and Spain will long remain at peace."

As Lord Nelson in the year 1801 had written* to the Lord Mayor, on not receiving the thanks of the city of London for the victory of Copenhagen, he now addressed a second letter to him on receiving thanks that had not been merited. In this admirable remonstrance Nelson declared, that no man set a higher value on the thanks of his fellow-citizens of London, than he did; but that he should feel as much ashamed to receive thanks for a line of service in which he had not moved, as he should feel hurt at having a great victory, alluding to that of Copenhagen, passed over without notice. He justly observed, that the port of Toulon had never been blockaded by him; but on the contrary, that every opportunity had been afforded by his fleet for the enemy to put to sea, in order that the hopes and expectations of his country might be realized. His lordship then concluded with the following liberal testimony to the talents of his brother officers. "Your lordship will judge of my feelings, upon seeing that all the junior flag-officers of other fleets, and even some of the captains, have received the thanks of the corporation of London, whilst the junior flag-officers of the Mediterranean fleet are entirely

* See Vol. ii. p. 454.

omitted. I own it has struck me very forcibly: for where the information respecting the junior flag-officers and captains of other fleets was obtained, the same information could have been given of the flag-officers of this fleet, and the captains; and it is my duty to state, that more able and zealous flag-officers and captains do not grace the British navy, than those I have the honour and happiness to command. It likewise appears, my lord, a most extraordinary circumstance, that Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Bickerton should have been, as second in command in the Mediterranean fleet, twice passed over by the corporation of London; once after the Egyptian expedition, when the first and third in command were thanked, and now again. Conscious of high desert, instead of neglect, the rear-admiral had resolved to let the matter rest, until he could have an opportunity personally to call on the lord mayor, to account for such an extraordinary omission; but from this second omission I owe it to that excellent officer not to pass it by. And I do assure your lordship, that the constant, zealous, and cordial support I have had in my command from both Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Bickerton and Rear-Admiral Campbell, has been such as calls forth all my thanks and approbation. We have shared together the constant attention of being more than fourteen months at sea, and are ready to share the dangers and glory of a day of battle: therefore it is impossible I can allow myself to be separated, in thanks, from such supporters."

On the 4th of August, he informed Mr. Stratton, our minister at Constantinople, that the Admiralty had ordered a ship of war to the Black Sea, in order to survey it; and wished to be informed whether the Ottoman court would make any, and what objections. The great importance and necessity of this service had long been evident to his lordship's mind. On the same day, in writing to his long-approved friend, Admiral Kingsmill, he touches on his regard for other early friends, and displays the tenderness of his affectionate disposition. "There is nothing, my dear Kingsmill, that you can desire me to do, that I should not fly to do with the greatest

pleasure. Can I forget all your kindness to me? No—Horatio Nelson is (all that is left of him) the same as you formerly knew, nor does he forget any part of Mary's goodness. Bastard is a very fine young man, and I will remove him out of the bomb, independent of your friendship. Mr. Bastard, member for Devon, is a character we must all respect for his high worth and principles. I can readily believe the pleasure you must have had, in meeting some of my friends at good Admiral and Mrs. Lutwidge's. I am sorry to tell you that my health, or rather constitution, is much shaken; but, my dear Kingsmill, when I run over the undermentioned wounds—eye in Corsica; belly, off Cape St. Vincent; arm at Teneriffe; and head in Egypt—I ought to be thankful that I am what I am. I command, however, for captains and crews, such a fleet as I have never before seen, and it is impossible that any admiral can be happier situated. God bless you, my dear Kingsmill, and believe me ever your most faithful and affectionate friend—Nelson and Bronte.

His anxiety to return home for a short repose from such incessant fatigue, was at times increased by the fear he possessed of not being able to have sufficient interest, as he modestly thought, to continue in the command of a fleet whose conduct he so uniformly approved: "You will, I am sure," said he in writing to Sir E. Nepean, the 4th of August, "see with regret, that my shattered carcase requires rest. The leaving this fleet, where every one wishes to please me, and where I am as happy as it is possible for a man to be in a command, must make me feel; but I owe it to my king and country, and to myself, not to let the service suffer upon my account. I have not interest, nor can I expect to be permitted to return in the spring to this command. Yet is this place, perhaps, more fitted for me than any other—but I submit. All my wishes now rest that I may meet Mons. Latouche before October is over." In a letter about the same time to Count Mocenigo at Corfu, when speaking of the possibility that Latouche might after all elude his vigilance, Nelson added, what it behoves all naval men to remember—

In sea affairs, nothing is impossible, and nothing improbable.

To the Duke of Clarence, 15th of August. "If anything the least new was to occur here, your royal highness is sure that I should have written to you; but we have an uniform sameness day after day, and month after month—gales of wind for ever. In July we had seventeen days very severe weather; the Mediterranean seems altered. However, with nursing our ships, we have roughed it out better than could have been expected. I have always made it a rule never to contend with the gales; and either run to the southward to escape its violence, or furl all the sails and make the ships as easy as possible. Our friend Keats is quite well; in his own person he is equal in my estimation to an additional seventy-four; his life is a valuable one to the state, and it is impossible that your royal highness could ever have a better choice of a sea friend, or counsellor, if you go to the Admiralty. Keats will never give that counsel which would not be good for the service."

During the preceding month of July, the boats of the *Narcissus*, Captain Ross Donnelly, of the *Seahorse*, Hon. C. Boyle, and of the *Maidstone*, Hon. George Elliot, had on the 9th made a desperate and most gallant attack on about twelve of the enemy's vessels at La Vandour in the Bay of Hieres. These boats had been sent in under the orders of Mr. John Thompson, first lieutenant of the *Narcissus*; who, with his gallant companions, as is narrated in Captain Donnelly's official letter, boarded and destroyed almost the whole, under a prodigious fire of great guns and musketry, as well from the enemy's vessels, as from a battery and the houses of the town, close to which they had been hauled in and secured. The attack commenced at midnight. The enemy were fully prepared, and had taken every precaution to secure their vessels, by mooring them head and stern. Lord Nelson, in sending an account of this daring enterprise to the Admiralty, the 12th of August, said, "The determined bravery of Lieutenants Thompson, Parker, Lumley, and Moore, and of the petty

officers,* seamen, and marines employed under them, could not be exceeded. I am concerned to observe, that Lieutenant Lumley† has been obliged to suffer amputation at the shoulder-joint; but I have much pleasure in saying, that this fine young man is fast recovering: his sufferings, I am sure, will meet their lordships' consideration."

At the beginning of the month of August, having heard that there was an excellent fresh-water river‡ in a bay in the island of Pulla, Lord Nelson proceeded thither, and found the report correct. He describes the bay in his diary, as being open to the E. and S.E. winds, but that the bottom was good. On the 16th of the same month, the *Active*, *Phoebe*, *Seahorse*, and *Niger*, joined from reconnoitring Toulon, and reported that sixteen or seventeen large ships, supposed of the line, had been out; and on the same day the *Fisgard* arrived from England. The violent gales which came on and continued for some days, obliged the admiral to take shelter under Cape St. Sebastian. In writing on the 24th of August to Rear-Admiral Sutton, he said: "The *Spencer* joined the 19th, from Plymouth. I was very glad to see so fine a ship, and so good a man as Captain Stopford. I have long, my dear

* The three midshipmen wounded were Mr. T. W. Bedingfield of the *Narcissus*, Mr. T. A. Watt of the *Seahorse*, and Mr. J. G. Victor of the *Maidstone*.

† This officer afterwards returned to England, with the following letter from his admiral to Lord Melville:—"I am sure that your lordship will allow me to present to you Lieutenant Lumley of the *Seahorse*, who had almost a miraculous recovery from his severe wounds. The arm is not only taken out of the shoulder-joint, but much of the shoulder-bones has been extracted. His general conduct as an officer has, from the report of the Hon. Captain Boyle, been such as always to merit approbation; and his conduct upon the occasion of losing his arm, has been such as to claim all our regard and esteem; and I am sure his good behaviour and sufferings will attract your lordship's notice."

‡ In his diary, during the month of September, mention is made of "a very fine watering-place found by Captain Hillyer, about five miles to the westward of Porto Torres, with the springs about two hundred yards from the beach, where forty casks may be filled at the same time. And, in writing afterwards to Mr. Consul Magnon, he said, "I can assure you, that we have found Pulla the most healthy place the fleet has ever been at. So far from a man being ill, from the thousands who went on shore, they have all derived the greatest benefit from the salubrity of the air brought down by that fine river."

friend, made up my mind never to be tired; the longer the happy day is deferred, still every day brings it nearer, and we all feel that the day will arrive; the sooner the better certainly, or I shall not be in at the death; for I have every reason to think if this fleet gets fairly at Mons. Latouche, that his letter, with all his ingenuity, must be different from his last. I have sent White, who is a treasure, to the good commissioner."

To Mr. Elliot, at Naples, August 28th.—"Since I received your excellency's letters by the Kent, we have had a severe gale of wind, and have been blown under St. Sebastian's, whence I only got back on Saturday the 26th, on which day I examined Toulon myself:—20 ships of war are in the outer road; nine certainly, and I believe ten, are of the line, the rest frigates and large corvettes, besides brigs, &c. &c. In the inner harbour, one ship of the line, and a frigate. Mons. Latouche's flag was not flying on board, but we supposed he was on Cape Sepet with his flag, directing any movements he might think necessary. It is not upon my own account, but that I may be able to answer for my conduct to the Admiralty, that I must ask this question of the king of Naples, *Do you think your situation requires the constant presence of an English ship of the line at Naples?* His majesty, and the queen, know that I would sooner fight the enemy's fleet with an inferior force, than have them in the least uneasy. But ministers may not always think as their attached Nelson and Bronte does; therefore, my dear sir, you will see the necessity I am under of repeatedly asking the same question: and I beg that the answer may be directly to the point, that if I go—and if I do not before next winter, I never shall go—to England, my successor may not have the power of taking the ship from Naples, without the king's consent first obtained. I have mentioned to Lord Melville my desire to return to this command in March or April, if I am recovered; but the administration may have so many other admirals looking to them, that very possibly I shall be laid upon the shelf."

Towards the close of this month of August, Lord Nelson

being much hurt at an insinuation which had been thrown out by some mercantile men, of his having favoured some merchants more than others, sent the following letter to one of their chairmen. "I can imagine no circumstance that could possibly influence me, as a British admiral, to grant more particular protection to one British merchant, in preference to another; all are equally entitled to the protection of his majesty's ships, and if my own brother were in your situation, I should scold him most sincerely for venturing to suppose that any influence would make me unjust."—No ignoble interest ever warped the mind of our hero; his heart, in these respects, was as pure and uncorrupted as that of a child. The glory of his profession was always uniformly before him. In a letter to Lord Carysfort, August 24th, Lord Nelson had thus spoken of himself, when making honourable mention of Lieutenant Granville, to whom a commission had been given by the admiral on the first of that memorable month: "Granville, my dear lord, is a very fine young man, and now you must try and get him the two next steps, commander and post, for until that is done, nothing substantial is effected; then the whole glory of our service is open to him. As an officer, I am of no party, and from my heart I believe that all the different parties are composed of honourable men, and men of great abilities.—I do not understand the least of the defence bill, further than that it is good to have as large a regular army as possible, and in the quickest way; and I hope Lord Moira thought so too. I have the very highest opinion of his honour and abilities as a soldier. Mr. Pitt is a host of strength in himself. The powers on the Continent are a set of dirty fellows; and I do not believe, if every person of all parties were in administration, that they would be able to move those powers to either assist us, or support their own honour. If they do ever go to war with France, *I hope it will be for themselves, and not to involve us in their quarrels.*"

On the 26th of the same month, August, when replying to the king of Sardinia's brother, the Duke de Genevois, viceroy of the island, in answer to a letter which had represented the

deplorable state of the finances in that valuable kingdom, Lord Nelson informed his royal highness, that he had long since communicated to his own government the impossibility, under the present circumstances, of his Sardinian majesty's keeping in pay that force which was necessary for the preservation of the island; and the next day, August 27th, he wrote to Lord Hawkesbury on the same subject: "The deplorable state of the finances in the island of Sardinia, has been represented to me not only by the viceroy, but also by all the governors, &c. &c. &c. Not one of their few soldiers has been paid for years, nor a governor or officer. The forts are going to ruin; there is not a gun-carriage fit to bear a gun, and their galleys are to be laid up, from the impossibility of even purchasing provisions for them. In short, my lord, Sardinia is gone, if the French make a landing; not from their regard to the French, for I am sure the greater part hate them, but the islanders must be released from their present miserable condition. I wrote to Lord Hobart fully upon the necessity of keeping the French out of it; for even should they take a temporary possession, how is Toulon to be watched? and great difficulty would be found in getting a convoy either to or from Malta. I have said enough to your lordship's intelligent mind; and if it is not lost before I have the honour of seeing you, I think I can satisfy your lordship of the absolute necessity of having Sardinia open to us."

Towards the end of August, feeling convinced that the French fleet was on the eve of sailing from Toulon, he on the 28th wrote to Captain Parker of the *Amazon*, being anxious lest he should miss his share of glory in the action: "I hope, my dear Parker, you are making haste to join me, for the day of battle cannot be far off, when I shall want every frigate; for the French have nearly one for every ship, and we may as well have a battle royal, line-of-battle ships opposed to ships of the line, and frigates to frigates. But I am satisfied with your exertions, and be assured that I am ever faithfully yours."

Whilst Nelson was thus anxiously watching Toulon, and waiting for his vaunting enemy to give the British fleet an

opportunity of avenging that aspersion which the French commander-in-chief had endeavoured to cast on its renown, Latouche had been suddenly taken ill, and died. This was a complete disappointment to the admiral, whose whole mind had been intent on annihilating the French force under Latouche, and proving to all Europe how little the boasts of that officer would have availed him in the day of battle. *If he had but come out and fought us*, exclaimed Nelson, *it would at least have added ten years to my life.*

The protection which his lordship had already given to the persecuted members of the Church of Rome, has been previously noticed. On receiving a despatch, in September, from Mr. Hunter at Madrid, which was of importance to the cardinals, he immediately transmitted it with the following letter to Cardinal Despuig: "Having always paid the greatest attention to your brother cardinals, and to the sovereignty of the pope, particularly in 1798, when I saved them from Naples, and in 1799, when a British naval officer under my orders hoisted the papal colours, and hauled down the French, upon the Castle of St. Angelo; I therefore send (although I am sure no British officer requires such an order) an order for every officer under my command to pay your eminence all the respect due to your high rank, and also to give you every facility in their power to forward the successful termination of your voyage: and if I can be useful in sending your eminence to Italy, only tell me so, and I shall be happy in the opportunity of assuring your eminence with what respect I am, your most obedient servant—Nelson and Bronte." The cardinal replied from Palma: "The very extraordinary compliment your excellency has favoured me with, so entirely overcomes me, that I am unable to find expressions to demonstrate my gratitude; and I remain, my lord, much mortified that on account of the afflicting circumstances of the fever which prevails in Spain, it has not been in my power to show the commander and officers of the corvette, under your excellency's orders, all that attention and those civilities, which I ought and wished to have done; although the activity of those officers gave me little opportu-

nity to do it. I shall remind his holiness of your excellency's zeal towards him, and inform my brethren the cardinals that you still retain them in your memory. I doubt not but their remembrance of you will be as eternal as my gratitude. I should be happy to find any occasion wherein I could give your excellency a testimony of my regard. In the mean time I pray God to preserve you many years."

The continual attention which Nelson had now, for so many months, paid to the Toulon squadron, and the variety of conjectures he had constantly formed respecting their future destination, had already presented the West Indies as an object well worthy of the enterprise of Buonaparte; and this more particularly appears from his following short note to Sir R. Bickerton, dated Victory, Sept. 6th.—"I shall stand inshore with the starboard division, and I therefore desire you to keep your present position. I shall come back again in the evening, merely wishing to take a look who are out; for I think they will now push to the westward, and if they should get out of the Straits, I am of opinion they will try for the West Indies, and then, with 7000 troops, farewell our islands." Again, in a letter to Sir A. Ball, on the same day, "I should imagine, now the Russians are getting so large a naval force into the Mediterranean, that the Toulon fleet would not think of going to the eastward; I should rather believe the West Indies more likely for them to succeed in. Suppose this fleet escapes, and gets out of the Straits, I am of opinion I should bend my course to the westward; for if they carry 7000 men, (with what they have at Martinique and Guadaloupe,) St. Lucia, Grenada, St. Vincent, Antigua, and St. Kitts would fall; and in that case England would be so clamorous for peace, that we should humble ourselves. What do you think? tell me: I have weighed Ireland against the West Indies; with me, the latter throws the beam up to the ceiling: but I may be wrong, it is at best but a guess, and the world attaches wisdom to him that guesses right. I am sensible, my dear Ball, of your partiality for me; yet I cannot bring myself to suppose, but that one half of the admirals upon the list would perform the duty of

the Mediterranean command as well, at least, as myself; and if the other half of the admirals was to hear of my vanity, they would think me a fool—but be that as it may. I am very far from well; at the same time if I were to get better, nothing could please me so much as returning to this command; but I have no interest, and another will come, and I think very probably Orde, or Curtis. I can solemnly assure you, that I am at present a poorer man than the day I was ordered to the Mediterranean command, by upwards of 1000*l.*; but money I despise, except as it is useful, and I expect my prize-money is embarked in the Toulon fleet. God bless you, my dear Ball, and ever be assured that I am your most faithful friend—Nelson and Bronte.” In a letter on the same day, September 6th, to General Villettes, after repeating these ideas respecting the object of the French fleet, he added, “Whatever may be their destination I shall certainly follow, be it even to the East Indies: such a pursuit would do more, perhaps, towards restoring me to health, than all the doctors together. But I fear this is reserved for some happier man. Not that I can complain, *I have had a good race of glory*, but we are never satisfied, although I hope I am duly thankful for the past; yet one cannot help, being at sea, longing for a little more. Latouche has given me the slip—he died of the colic, perhaps Buonaparte’s, for they say he was a rank republican. Duma-noir is the rear-admiral at present in Toulon. God bless you, my dear general, and believe me ever your much obliged friend.”

His following letter, which was addressed through Mr. Marsden to the Board, will show, that notwithstanding the various other objects which so constantly employed Nelson’s mind, he was equally intent on devising the most effectual modes for preserving the health of his fleet.—“... I am sure their lordships will see the justness of the case as plain as I do. Each man was formerly allowed a pint of oatmeal on certain days; but as it was found that generally a man could not get a pint of dry oatmeal down his throat, and, I suppose, thinking it no longer necessary to present this saving to the

purser, half a pint of oatmeal was issued instead of a pint, and, in lieu of the other half pint, a proportion of molasses: it has sometimes occurred in the Channel fleet, that no molasses was to be procured, nor was there any allowance made for such temporary omissions. In the West Indies, cocoa and sugar are allowed; in the Channel, I hear, tea and sugar. In the Mediterranean we have no molasses, nor any substitute; nor is our want of molasses temporary but lasting. I beg, therefore, with all due respect, to call their lordships' attention to this circumstance; and to propose, that when molasses cannot be obtained, a proportion of sugar should be allowed to be mixed with the oatmeal, in lieu of molasses: and that if sugar cannot be obtained, the men having no substitute in lieu, should be paid the saving, as in all other species of provisions. It is not necessary to enter more at large upon this subject; their lordships' wisdom will direct their proceedings."

To Sir A. Ball, 4th of October.—"Captain Leake, who I believe has letters for you, if not, I know he is instructed to correspond and communicate with you, is, as you will see, a person perfectly in the confidence of Government; and he is very highly spoken of. From the little I have seen of him in one day, I think he merits their confidence by his good sense. He has begged me to present him to you. I sincerely hope, my dear Ball, that the Russians will not act so as to have the Austrians united with the French and Turks against them and us; but Russia must be careful how she conducts herself in the Ionian republic and the Morea. I have great fears; I think I see much too close a connection between France and Austria, and we know the Turks would jump to join such an alliance. The times are big with great events. I wish my health was better. I have mentioned to Lord Melville what you have thought about Sir Richard Bickerton, in case I should be able to return; but I do not expect such a compliance—time will show. Toulon was safe on Sunday last, as Boyle will tell you. No admiral has hoisted his flag in the room of Latouche;—he is gone, and all his lies with him.

The French papers say he died in consequence of walking so often up to the signal-post, upon *Sepet*, to watch us: *I always pronounced that that would be his death.*"

The following letter to Earl Spencer more fully shows what the admiral thought of that statesman, and is equally honourable to both their characters.—"Victory, 10th of October. I do assure you, my dear lord, that not one of all your naval friends, and you ought to have many, loves, honours, and respects you more than myself, or is more grateful for all your kindness. Circumstances may have separated us; but my sincere respect and attachment can never be shaken by either political or other considerations, and it will always give me pleasure, in showing my regard for the father by attentions to the son. The sight of your letter called forth feelings of which I have reason to be proud, but which cannot be readily expressed; therefore I shall only say for myself, *that Nelson never has nor can change.*"

In one of four letters which he addressed on the same day to Lord Melville, the admiral expressed himself as being satisfied with the arrangements that had been made by the Board of Admiralty, as to line-of-battle ships, yet lamented the manner in which the service continued to be cramped for want of frigates. A deficiency of them in the Mediterranean allowed the enemy's privateers to increase, and considerable depredations to be made on our valuable trade in that sea. "But," added he, "I am sure, my lord, from your wise beginning, that a full crop of credit, and I believe of glory, will accrue to the Board of Admiralty."

In writing during October to his excellency Mr. Elliot, at Naples, Nelson reverted to the politics of that court: "Your excellency's summary account of the situation of Naples since the negotiations with Russia, and of your very interesting communication with the king in person, is perfectly clear; and if I had not known Naples, and the men who move the wheels of government, so well as I do, it would perfectly have explained the situation of affairs in that kingdom to me. I was in hopes Circello would, before this time, have been in

the place of the Chevalier Micheroux: neither our government, nor any English minister, or officer, dare place confidence in the latter. I hope he is loyal and true to his king; but much more is required for a foreign court, to disclose its plans of operations and ultimate views; *implicit confidence must be placed*—and with the Chevalier Micheroux, so far from *confidence*, the greatest *distrust* must prevail. This I assert is my opinion, of which your excellency will make a proper use. The new ministry seem to have honoured me with unbounded confidence; and I understand that your letters, relative to all the affairs of Naples, both as to its safety and to pecuniary assistance, are of the same tenor as mine. Their regret at General Acton's leaving the helm at such an important moment, is most strongly expressed: none of us can have equal confidence in any other man. Circello, I believe, is sincerely attached to Acton and the king. The great and good queen sometimes, I fear, allows herself to be guided by people not possessed of one half of her excellent head and heart; but the times are such, that kingdoms must not be played with, for it is not difficult to see that if Austria joins with France, so will the Turks, and then Russia will have her hands full; and so far from Russia assisting Naples, it may involve her in total ruin, without the greatest care and circumspection. . . What I can do shall be done, and perhaps my being in England, and conversing with ministers, if I am in their confidence, may be of more real use to the kingdom of Naples, than my being here during the winter, completely done up, and in the spring be obliged to retire for ever. I sincerely hope that your excellency's news from Berlin is correct, but I have my doubts; it would be too much happiness for Europe, which seems bent on destroying itself."

One favourite idea of Nelson to avert the impending storm, was the security of Sardinia; and in a letter to Lord Harrowby, 11th of October, he dwelt on that subject. "My lord: you must excuse that want of regularity and method in arranging the various subjects, so easy to statesmen, but with which a man who has been all his life at sea cannot be supposed to be

so well acquainted. I received Captain Leake with that openness, which was necessary to make myself as well acquainted with him in three days, as others might do in as many years. I have given him all the knowledge of the men, their views, &c. &c. as far as I have been able to form a judgment. We know everything respecting Sardinia which is necessary—that it has no money, no troops, no means of defence... I will only mention the state of one town, Alghèra, fortified with seventy large cannon, and containing 10⁺ or 12,000 inhabitants. It has forty soldiers and a governor, not one of whom has been paid any wages for more than three years. They levy a small tax upon what comes in or goes out of the town. Guns honeycombed for want of paint; and only two carriages fit to stand firing; and the governor shows this, and says, *how long can we go on in this manner?* This place was intended to, and would, in our hands, possess the whole of the coral fishery; but for want of active commerce, grass grows in the streets. I could repeat the same miserable state of the city of Sassari, where there is a regular university established, now in misery. The French mean to make that the seat of government; it is in a beautiful and fertile plain twelve miles from the sea, to which a river flows."

Notwithstanding the weak state of his health from having been so long at sea, Lord Nelson would never leave his ship: on the 17th of October he carried his fleet to the Madelena islands for wood, water, and other necessities; and although the royal family of Sardinia were at all times ready to show every attention to their gallant preserver, he refused all indulgence, and persisted in his determination of remaining on board. Before he left Madelena, feeling, as he did at that time, that he might not be allowed to return from England where he expected shortly to go, he presented a piece of church-plate to the superior, as a small token of esteem for the inhabitants, and as a remembrance of the hospitable treatment which the fleet under his command had ever received from them. He also requested the Duke de Genevoise to advance the governor of Madelena, Millieri, to the rank of major, for

his correct and strict attention to the edicts of his royal highness respecting neutrality.—On the 26th of October the fleet got under weigh at Madelena, consisting of the Victory, Canopus, Superb, Spencer, Tigre, Royal Sovereign, Leviathan, Excellent, Belleisle, and Conqueror; and, as he added in his diary, *with not a man sick in the fleet*.—On the 30th of Oct. he looked into Toulon, where Vice-Admiral Villeneuve had hoisted his flag, and sent the following account of the enemy to Lord Melville. “The weather was very thick when I looked into Toulon; but I believe a vice-admiral has hoisted his flag, his name I have not yet heard. They now amuse themselves with night-signals, and by the quantity of rockets and blue lights they show with every signal, they plainly mark their position. These gentlemen must soon be so perfect in theory, that they will come to sea to put their knowledge into practice. Could I see that day, it would make me happy.”

During the month of October, Nelson had been puzzled, and, before his own despatches arrived, rather irritated, respecting the measures that had been taken to counteract the designs of the Spaniards in favour of the French; and this he expressed to Sir Alexander Ball, Captain Gore, and Mr. Marsden. On the 22d of Sept. the John Bull cutter sailed from Plymouth with secret despatches for Lord Nelson and for Admiral Cornwallis, respecting the Spaniards, whose conduct had begun to be rather suspicious. Admiral Cornwallis was instructed to detach two frigates, to proceed with all despatch off Cadiz and the entrance of the Straits, and to unite their endeavours with any of his majesty's ships they might find there, to intercept and detain some Spanish frigates expected with treasure from South America. With a liberality inherent in his character, and which corresponded with the integrity of his government, Nelson anxiously wished, if possible, to avoid a war with Spain: *I still fervently hope*, said he, in writing to Mr. Consul Gibert, *that no war between the two countries may take place, and that Spain will not any longer be the tool of Buonaparte*: and before he had received his despatches, he had written as follows to Captain Gore, “Unless

you receive orders from the Admiralty, it is my most positive directions, that neither you, nor any ship under your command, do molest or interrupt in any manner the lawful commerce of Spain, with whom we are at perfect peace and amity." And he soon afterwards added, "Although I most sincerely hope that it will not be a Spanish war, yet if it be, I shall be glad to hear that you have made a fortune. I expect my successor every hour."

With some transports detached to the Black Sea, Lord Nelson had been directed by the Admiralty to send an intelligent officer, and Lieutenant Woodman had been fixed on by him for that important service ; who, on his return, in addition to his official letter and notes, communicated much interesting information relative to the future views of the Russians. The admiral informed Lord Melville that he selected Lieutenant Woodman, though a perfect stranger, for that service, on account of the character he bore ; and that from the limited sphere he had to move in, he had executed it in a most satisfactory manner.—On the 3d of November, he sent the following account of the proceedings of the Sardinian parliament to Lord Camden: "Sardinia, if it be possible, becomes every day in greater misery. The *Stamenti*, which is formed of proportions of the nobles, clergy, and the people, have dismissed themselves. They were summoned to meet in June or July ; the two first classes met, but the number of the last class did not arrive until the viceroy had opened the session ; when, instead of conciliating and promising to assist them in the formation of such regulations as might benefit the island, he stated at once the distresses of the government, and asked for one million of dollars. The last class, finding that nothing was wanted of them but money, never filled up the legal numbers. The clergy and nobles agreed to the demand ; but the meeting not being legal, no money could be raised. Yet as the clergy and nobles had consented to the supply, 50 or 60,000 dollars have been squeezed out of them, not one farthing of which has gone to the real wants of the island. The clergy and nobles are now, I hear, very much disgusted at being forced to pay

this money, whilst the people pay nothing. This is the present state of Sardinia; it cannot last.* Having soon afterwards received intelligence that the French were assembling an army of 10,000 men at Villettri, and being of opinion that it could be with no other intention, than for Buonaparte to possess himself of Gaieta whenever it might suit his purposes, Lord Nelson sent the Juno frigate, Captain H. Richardson, to secure the safety of the king of Sardinia; and having made arrangements with Sir Alexander Ball for his majesty's reception at Malta, communicated an account of these precautionary measures to the king himself. It was not until the 12th of November that Nelson first heard of the arrival of the Spanish frigates, laden with money, at Spithead; and on the 17th, in writing to the Hon. Captain Capel, "the question of peace or war with Spain is still," said he, "undecided, at least on the 27th of October, when my letters are dated from Madrid."

During the night of the 14th of November, intelligence arrived in the Mediterranean, that the Spaniards had declared war, which was officially announced by them on the 12th of the ensuing month. On the 14th of December, the Admiralty sent out word, that Mr. Frere had left Madrid, and that an embargo had been laid on all British ships and vessels in the ports of Spain; but owing to his subsequent proceedings, the admiral did not receive this until the 14th of March, 1805. By this despatch he was directed, "In case of the detention of any Spanish ships or vessels in consequence of these instructions, to give the most positive orders to the officers to whom the charge of such ships or vessels might be intrusted, to take all possible care that no embezzlement of any kind whatever

* On the 5th of October, the *Indefatigable*, Graham; Moore; *Medusa*, J. Gore; *Amphion*, Sutton; and *Lively*, G. E. Hammond—when endeavouring to detain four Spanish frigates, *La Medée*, *La Clara*, *La Fama*, and *La Mercedes*, laden with treasure—an action became inevitable, notwithstanding the earnest wish of Captain Moore to execute his orders without bloodshed. The *Mercedes* soon blew up with 800,000 dollars on board; the other three were taken, with their rich cargoes, consisting of 32 chests of platina, 1,859,216 dollars in silver, 1,119,658 gold, reduced into dollars, and 150,011 ingots of gold reduced into dollars.

took place on board them." An order which was entirely congenial with his upright and disinterested character; no man deprecated more than Nelson the smallest approaches to a contrary behaviour: *Thank God!* exclaimed he on a similar occasion, *I shall get no money: the world, I know, thinks that to be our god—and now it will be undeceived, as far as relates to us.*

That regard for their Sicilian majesties which Lord Nelson uniformly cherished, was strongly expressed in two of the last letters which he addressed to them on the 19th of December, from the Gulf of Palma, a short time before his pursuit of the French fleet. To the queen he wrote at considerable length: "Although I have addressed a letter to the king to assure him of my unalterable attachment, yet I cannot resist declaring the same to your majesty, for my obligations are equal to both, and so is my gratitude. Never perhaps was Europe more critically situated than at this moment, and never was the probability of universal monarchy more nearly being realized than in the person of the Corsican. I can see but little difference between the name of emperor, king, or prefect, if they perfectly obey his despotic orders. Your majesty's illustrious mother would not have so submitted. Prussia is trying to be destroyed last—Spain is little better than a province of France—Russia does nothing on the grand scale. Would to God these great powers reflected, that the boldest measures are the safest! They allow small states to fall, and to serve the enormous power of France, without appearing to reflect that every kingdom which is annexed to France makes their existence as independent states more precarious. Your majesties see all this, and much more than I can; for your majesty is the true daughter of the great Maria Theresa. Your good heart will forgive my free manner of writing, it may be the last I shall ever address to you; for if I do not very soon get quiet on shore, my thread of feeble life will break: but God's will be done. My last breath will be for the felicity of your majesty the king, and royal family."

CHAP. XI.

FRENCH FLEET ESCAPE FROM TOULON, AND ELUDE NELSON'S PURSUIT, BUT RETURN TO PORT — SICILY PROTECTED—FRENCH FLEET AGAIN AT SEA — NELSON PURSUES THEM TO THE WEST INDIES—HE ARRIVES AT BARBADOES, AND FROM FALSE INFORMATION PROCEEDS TO TOBAGO—FRENCH FLEET RETURN TO EUROPE, PURSUED IN THEIR SUPPOSED TRACK BY THE ENGLISH ADMIRAL—NELSON FALLS IN WITH ADMIRAL CORNWALLIS OFF USHANT, AND IS ORDERED TO PROCEED WITH THE VICTORY AND SUPERB TO PORTSMOUTH —TAKES LEAVE OF THE FLEET—HIS LIBERAL OPINION ON SIR R. CALDEN'S ACTION—COMBINED FLEET BLOCKED UP IN CADIZ—NELSON EMBARKS AT PORTSMOUTH IN THE VICTORY —HIS RECEPTION ON JOINING THE FLEET—HIS LETTER TO THE DEY OF ALGIERS.

ON the first day of this eventful year, 1805, Lord Nelson, writing to Mr. Foresti at Corfu, informed him that the French fleet had been safe in Toulon on the 27th of December; but that each report which arrived, continued to declare they were embarking a great number of troops. On the 15th, Captain Keats, who had been sent with the *Superb* to Algiers on the 28th of December, joined; *having*, as the admiral noted in his diary, *arranged our differences respecting the Dey with great judgment.* The first attempt of the French fleet during this year, to escape from Toulon, was also thus noticed in his diary. "Jan. 19th. Hard gales N. W. At three P. M. the *Active* and *Seahorse* arrived at Madelena, with information that the French fleet had put to sea from Toulon yesterday. At twenty-eight minutes past four, made the general signal for each ship to carry a light, and repeat signals during the night, made by the admiral. Ran through the passage between Biche and Sardinia at six o'clock. At thirty-five minutes past six, burnt a blue light, and at forty-five minutes past, another." It was the opinion of William the IVth, that the promptness thus shown by his noble friend was the greatest instance of his determined spirit as a sea-officer, and he noticed it as such in the house of lords. The passage was so narrow, that only one of the fleet could pass at a time,

and each was guided merely by the stern lights of the preceding ship.

His diary and private log continue his own modest and concise account. "*At seven the whole fleet was clear of the passage. Sent Seahorse round the southern end of Sardinia to St. Peter's, to look out for them, but to prevent the enemy as much as possible, from seeing her; and the moment Capt. Boyle discovered them, to return to me. From their position when last seen, and the course they were steering, s. or s. by w. they could only be bound round the southern end of Sardinia. At nine P.M. bore away along that island with the following ships, Victory, Donegal, Superb, Canopus, Spencer, Tigre, Royal Sovereign, Leviathan, Belleisle, Conqueror, Swiftsure, and Active frigate. During the night it was squally, unsettled weather. At forty-eight minutes past eight, burnt a blue light; at half past ten, down topgallant yards, and struck topgallant masts. At midnight, moderate breezes and clear. At two, burnt a blue light, and at four burnt another and made more sail. At thirty-five minutes past seven, Active made the signal for a sail; and immediately afterwards, that the strange sail was a vessel of war, which proved to be the Seahorse. At fifty minutes past seven, made the signal that Spencer and Leviathan were to be a detached squadron; delivered the Hon. Captain Stopford a letter to that effect, directing him to keep on my weather-beam with them, being fast-sailing ships, to act as occasion might require. At fifty-five minutes past eight, made Active's signal to close nearer the admiral, and at twenty minutes past nine made Swiftsure's to do the same. At twenty-five minutes past nine, made the general signal to prepare for battle. At twenty-five minutes past eleven, made the same signal, to form the established order of sailing in two columns, and the signal to keep in close order. Spencer and Leviathan separated from this order, to be the readier to push at any detached ships of the enemy. All night very hard gales from s.s.w. to s.w. which continued throughout the next day; during great part of the time we*

were under storm staysails. On the following day, Tuesday, Jan. 22d, we had in the morning very heavy squalls* from the westward, Seahorse in sight coming down. At half past nine, she made the signal that she had been chased by the enemy's frigates; and at ten, that she had intelligence to communicate. At eleven, Captain Boyle informed me, that yesterday afternoon, at three o'clock, he had seen a French frigate standing in for Pulla, but it was so thick he could not discern the French fleet, and it blew a heavy gale of wind at s.s.w. I sincerely pray for a favourable wind; for we cannot be more than twenty leagues from them, and if Cagliari be their object, and the Sardes will but defend their capital, we shall be in time to save them: pray God it may be so." The Active, Captain Moubray, and Seahorse, Hon. C. Boyle, were then detached by the Admiral to reconnoitre the bay of Cagliari, and to ascertain whether the enemy's squadron was there; but could obtain no intelligence. The Active was then sent with a letter to the viceroy and consul at Cagliari, whilst the admiral, in vain endeavouring to get round the island of Serpentera, remained during the 24th anxiously looking out for the Active to bring information; but, on rejoining the fleet, she made the signal that she had gained no intelligence. On the 25th of January, the Hon. C. Boyle came on board the Victory, and received an order to proceed to Naples with the admiral's despatches for Mr. Elliot and Captain Sotheron, and to return immediately and join the fleet off Stromboli. The Active on the 26th was directed to cruise three days east, five or six leagues from the island of Serpentera, for the purpose of speaking any of our ships that were in search of the squadron, at the expiration of which time she was to follow the fleet according to her orders. The Phœbe, Hon. T.B. Capel, on the 26th, joined the fleet, and informed the admiral, that on the 19th he had kept company with an enemy's ship of 80 guns until

* Lord Nelson, as was his invariable custom, marked in his diary the variations of the barometer, that he might form a correct idea of the weather to be expected, and from them he increased or diminished the sail carried by the fleet;

he got into Ajaccio, which had lost all her topmasts, and her main-topsail yard was through the top. Captain Hallowell in the *Tigre* was also on the 27th detached to Sir J. Acton at Palermo, and with letters to be forwarded by express to Sir A. Ball at Malta, requesting every possible means might instantly be employed to obtain intelligence of the enemy. On the 28th, Captain Hallowell returned from Palermo; no intelligence of the enemy's destination had reached Sir John Acton, but he sent word, that accounts had arrived from Paris of 7000 troops having been ordered to embark at Toulon, and from Nice, of 10,000, and, as supposed, for Sicily; he was, however, convinced that 10,000 would not succeed against Sicily, as their force consisted of 9000 regular troops, and 18,700 militia.

The sanguine and disappointed mind of Nelson was again on the rack, and his nights became sleepless: "*Stromboli*," as he remarks in his diary, "*burnt very strongly throughout the night of the 28th* : passed round it at three in the morning. As we ran outside the Lipari islands, we had been obliged to steer E. by N. and for two hours E. N. E. by compass: when by the Spanish chart, E. and E. by S. were laid down as the proper course."—In Lord Nelson's opinion, Egypt was decidedly the great object of the French, and he therefore determined to pursue their fleet thither. On the 30th, the *Bittern*, Captain Corbet, was sent for information of the enemy to the island of Pantellaria and Tunis, and to rejoin at appointed places. The next day the Hon. T. B. Capel was detached to Coron in the *Morea*; and, in case of not succeeding, to cruise off Gozo for a week, for the purpose of speaking vessels; and the *Hydra*, Captain Maitland, was directed to proceed round the southern end of Sardinia, or through the straits of Bonifaccio as wind might permit, off Toulon, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the enemy's squadron had put back. On the 31st, the Hon. C. Boyle was detached with a similar order, by the eastern side of Corsica round Cape Corse; and Captain Raynsford, in the *Morgiana*, was directed to proceed to Porto Ferrajo in Elba, and to

St. Fiorenzo in Corsica, endeavouring to speak vessels from Marseilles, and to look into Ajaccio after the enemy's crippled ship.—The land of Egypt was made by the Canopus on the fourth of February; and as the *Anson*, with the admiral's despatches to Mr. P. Aggs, our consul at Alexandria, had been driven to leeward, Captain Hallowell was on the seventh sent in. The Turkish ships at Alexandria were much alarmed at the appearance of our ships, believing them to have been French; but as the admiral observes, "they were in no condition to defend that most important place from an attack, by surprise, of five hundred men. The three Turkish frigates in the harbour loaded their guns, and made some preparations for defence."—On the eighth Captain Hallowell returned, and informed the admiral that the enemy's fleet had not been seen or heard of at Alexandria. Lord Nelson then bore up, and steered for Malta. The ill success of his exertions, so similar to what had happened in 1798, produced the same effect on his harassed mind, and was equally cavilled at by his impatient countrymen at home. His letter to Lord Melville, written on the 14th of February, when within 100 leagues of Malta, shows with what reflection and judgment Egypt had been determined on by him, as the object of the enemy; and how cautious all men should be, whether in power or not, of attaching blame to the unsuccessful exertions of great naval or military officers. "Feeling, as I do, that I am entirely responsible to my king and country for the whole of my conduct, I find no difficulty at this moment, when I am so unhappy at not finding the French fleet, nor having obtained the smallest information where they are, to lay before you the whole of the reasons which induced me to pursue the line of conduct I have done. I have consulted no man, therefore the whole blame of ignorance in forming my judgment must rest with me. I would allow no man to take from me an atom of my glory, had I fallen in with the French fleet, nor do I desire any man to partake of any of the responsibility—all is mine, right or wrong. Therefore I shall now state my reasons, after seeing that Sardinia, Naples, and Sicily were safe, for believing that

Egypt was the destination of the French fleet; and at this moment of sorrow, I still feel that I have acted right. 1. The wind had blown from N. E. to S. E. for fourteen days before they sailed; therefore they might without difficulty have gone to the westward. 2. They came out with gentle breezes at N. W. and N. N. W. Had they been bound to Naples, the most natural thing for them to have done would have been to run along their own shore to the eastward, where they would have had ports every twenty leagues of coast to take shelter in. 3. They bore away in the evening of the 18th, with a strong gale at N. W. or N. N. W. steering S. or S. by W. It blew so hard that the Seahorse went more than thirteen knots an hour, to get out of their way. Desirable as Sardinia* is for them, they could get it without risking their fleet, although certainly not so quickly as by attacking Cagliari . . . however, I left nothing to chance in that respect, and therefore went off Cagliari . . . Having afterwards gone to Sicily, both to Palermo and Messina, and thereby given encouragement for a defence, and knowing all was safe at Naples, I had only the Morea and Egypt to look to: for although I knew one of the French ships was crippled, yet I considered the character of Buonaparte; and that the orders given by him, on the banks of the Seine, would not take into consideration winds or weather; nor indeed could the accident of even three or four ships alter in my opinion a destination of importance: therefore such an accident did not weigh in my mind, and I went first to the Morea, and then to Egypt. The result of my inquiries at Coron, and Alexandria, confirms me in my former opinion; and therefore, my lord, if my obstinacy or ignorance is so gross, I should be the first to recommend your superseding me: but, on the contrary, if, as I flatter myself, it should be found that my ideas of the probable destination of the French fleet were well founded, in the opinion of his majesty's ministers, then I shall hope for the consolation of having my con-

* In a letter to Mr. Consul Magnon, Lord Nelson gave it as his opinion, that if the weather had been fine, he should have fallen in with the French fleet off the island of Toro.

duct approved by his majesty; who will, I am sure, weigh my whole proceedings in the scale of justice. The pasha of Coron informed me, that the French ambassador was to leave Constantinople on the 17th or 18th of January; which tallying with the sailing of the French fleet, might probably be a plan of Buonaparte not to subject himself to the charge of invading the country of a friendly power, as the French government had been charged with, when he went before to Egypt.”—Lord Nelson then proceeded to describe the state of Egypt, and the change which had taken place since the French invasion of it in 1798:—That then the Mameloucs and all the inhabitants were against the invaders, whereas they were now ready to receive either the English or French. Writing on the same subject to Sir Alexander Ball, he thus described that innate support which a great mind possesses. “When I call to remembrance all the circumstances which I know at this moment, I approve, if nobody else does, of my own conduct. We know, my dear Ball, that the success of a man’s measures is the criterion by which the world judges of the wisdom or folly of them. I have done my best, I feel I have acted right; and should ministers think otherwise, they must get somebody of more wisdom.”

Lord Nelson soon afterwards received intelligence from Mr. Elliot at Naples, that the French fleet, after having been dispersed in a gale of wind, had been compelled to return into Toulon harbour; and that a considerable number of saddles and muskets had been originally embarked. “Those gentlemen,” said the admiral in writing to Lord Melville, “are not accustomed to a Gulf of Lyons gale, which we have buffeted for twenty-one months, and not carried away a spar. I most sincerely hope they will soon be in a state to put to sea again. Everybody has an opinion respecting the destination of the enemy, mine is more fully confirmed that it was Egypt: to what other country could they want to carry saddles and arms? I yet hope to meet them before I go hence. I would die ten thousand deaths, rather than give up my command when the enemy is expected every day to be at sea.” In this pursuit.

of the French fleet, as in the former one, he had felt the same distress for frigates, which he so emphatically styled *the eyes of his fleet*; and in writing to Lord Melville respecting the extent of the Mediterranean command to Cadiz, which would have been continued had Mr. Addington's government remained, Lord Nelson thus prefaced his letter: "It is only with great deference to the superior judgment of your lordship, that I venture once more to touch upon the subject of the great want of frigates and sloops on the Mediterranean station; for I am fully aware of the want you have of them at home, and for other commands—the more stations are multiplied, the greater must be the demand for small ships. I have in a former letter stated my opinion freely upon the stations of Gibraltar and of Cadiz being given to the same officer; for without that is done, our convoys can never be considered safe. It may be thought by some, but I am confident your lordship's liberal mind will not think so, that a desire of more extensive command for the hope of prize-money actuates me. Such people know me not; let me be placed alongside of the French admiral. Had the station been continued to me, I should have appointed ~~that~~ that excellent officer, Sir R. Strachan, to the command at Gibraltar and off Cadiz; with, if to be had, one other ship of the line, four frigates, and as many sloops, and to have covered our convoys both from Carthage and Cadiz: and something of that kind your lordship will find it still necessary to adopt, to insure our convoys. There is also another, although perhaps a minor consideration, why the officer at Gibraltar should be under the orders of the admiral commanding the Mediterranean fleet—which is, that any admiral independent of that station, takes all the stores which he chooses, or fancies he wants for the service of his fleet; thereby placing the fleet in the Gulf of Lyons in great distress for many articles. I again beg your lordship's indulgence for the freedom of my remarks." Prize-money, as he justly observed in this letter, never influenced his public conduct: when sending to Sir A. Ball a list of the sloops and brigs that had been detached to the eastward, he said, *if I had them, I do assure you not one*

of them should go prize-hunting—that I never have done. And when writing to Lord Moira: “A blow struck in Europe,” said Nelson, “would do more towards making us respected, and of course facilitate a peace, than the possession of Mexico or Peru; in both of which, I am sure, we are perfectly ignorant of the disposition of the inhabitants; and above all, I hope we shall have no buccaneering expeditions. Such services fritter away our troops and ships, when they are so much wanted for more important occasions, and are of no use beyond enriching a few individuals. I know not, my dear lord, if these sentiments coincide with yours: but as glory, and not money, has through life been your pursuit, I should rather think you will agree with me, *that in Europe, and not abroad, is the place for us to strike a blow*, which would make the Corsican look aghast even upon his usurped throne. You may rely upon every attention in my power to Captain Austen. I hope to see him alongside a French 80-gun ship, and he cannot be better placed than in the *Canopus*, which was *once* a French admiral’s ship, and struck to *me*. Captain Austen I knew a little of before, he is an excellent young man. I hope soon, my dear lord, to congratulate you upon the birth of a son who will emulate his father’s manliness. In these days I see many people, but very few men.”

On the 27th of February in the evening he was at length, after this unsuccessful pursuit of the enemy, compelled by violent gales of wind to anchor his fleet in the bay of Pulla, Sardinia; and his disquietude at that time may be judged of, from the following note to Sir R. Bickerton: *What a dreadful thing, not either to get hold of the French fleet, nor even to hear of them since their return, except from Naples: what weather! did you ever see such in almost any country? It has forced me to anchor here, in order to prevent being driven to leeward, but I shall go to sea the moment it moderates.* As he observed to Captain Ball, he was not at that moment to be envied in his command, and had passed a long and very anxious winter. It was a most severe mortification to him that the French fleet had been crippled—*Buonaparte himself,*

said he, *cannot feel more disappointed than I. Had the weather been fine, we should have met off the island of Toro.* After beating about, the fleet was again compelled from another heavy gale at N.W. to anchor on the eighth of March in the Gulf of Palma. During the next night, he passed with the Victory, in heavy rain and blowing strong, through a passage where only one ship of the line followed him. *You, my dear Ball,* concludes one of his letters, *you will suppose my misery ; it is at its full, and must change.* From the 21st of January, when, if the enemy had not been crippled, he was so fully of opinion he should have fallen in with them, every ship in his fleet had remained prepared for battle, with not a bulkhead up night or day. To add to his distress, a convoy had been intercepted, which, as he observes in one of his letters, would not have happened, if he could have ordered the officer off Cadiz : he, however, sent ships to protect the vessels. “ I hear,” adds the admiral, “ I am not to be allowed to send a vessel even with my despatches to Lisbon—I bear it patiently. when I see Lord Melville and Nepean, something will be done. Either Sir John Orde should command all, or myself.” *

It was Lord Nelson's intention in the next place, (as appears from what he styled “most secret memoranda,” which were addressed to Captain Bayntun of the Leviathan,) to make his appearance off Barcelona, in order to induce the enemy to believe that he was fixed on the coast of Spain, when he had every reason to believe that they would again put to sea, as their troops were still embarked : “ From off Barcelona,” added he, “ I shall proceed direct to the general rendezvous ; and should Leviathan be there before me, and I find either Termagant or Bittern, it would be very desirable to have a vessel fixed ten leagues west of St. Pierre's, in case the French fleet should not steer close to Sardinia ; for I think Egypt is still their destination. Captain Bayntun will be telegraphed when he is to proceed upon this service, which will not be done whilst a hope remains of the fleet's getting to its other rendezvous in any reasonable time.”—On the 23d of March, when

off St. Pierre's, he directed Captain Richardson, of the Juno frigate, as from the appearance of the weather it seemed likely to come on to blow from the s.e., to proceed as expeditiously as possible to the Gulf of Palma; and if he found that the fleet could not get up from the s.e. winds, which would make it improper to anchor with the ships in the gulf, Captain Richardson was then desired to cause the victuallers and storeships, with such other ships as might be there, to weigh, and join the admiral: "I shall make the best of my way," added Lord Nelson, "off Vache and Toro, to join them, beyond which they are not to be brought, unless by signal or orders from me." On the Victory's afterwards coming to anchor in the Gulf of Palma, he despatched the Amazon, Captain Parker, to bring the victuallers from Malta, of which the fleet began to be in serious want; and on the 26th, Rear-Admiral Louis joined from England in the Ambuscade, Captain Durban.

Lord Nelson, at the close of this month of March, had nearly given up all idea of the French fleet again leaving Toulon; and the time was rapidly approaching, when, being of opinion that they would be laid up for the summer months, he had determined to return to England to recruit his health. "*I had hopes,*" said he in writing at that time to a civilian, Dr. Sewell, "*to have sent the French fleet for condemnation, and although my hopes diminish, yet it is possible it may arrive before April is over; after which some other admiral must have that great felicity.*" He soon afterwards received a report, that the French had certainly embarked troops on the 21st of March; upon which his jaded spirits began to revive. On Saturday, March 30th, his squadron weighed from the Bay of Palma, and on the first of April anchored in Pulla Bay in the Gulf of Cagliari, to water. On the third they again weighed, and made sail from Pulla, towards Toulon, and were joined by the Hydra, Captain G. Mundy. The weather on the fourth was variable and unsettled, light breezes, hazy, and drizzling rain: when suddenly the Phœbe, Hon. T. B. Capel, was discovered in the offing, with the signal flying, *that the*

French admiral was at sea. Villeneuve had again sailed on the morning of March 31st, from Toulon, with eleven ships of the line, seven frigates, and two brigs, with the wind at N. E. and had steered S. S. W. He was first discovered by our frigates at eight o'clock, and was last seen by Captain Capel at sunset on the same day, when the wind came fresh from the W. N. W. The *Active*, Captain Moubray, stood upon a wind to the S. W. all night, but lost sight of them. During the two next days there was little wind, southerly and easterly. On Wednesday and Thursday were fresh N. W. breezes, and the next day it became nearly calm. Neither from the enemy's course, nor manœuvres, could any correct judgment be formed, whether the French fleet had an easterly or westerly destination; but when last observed, on the evening of the 31st, they were steering towards the coast of Africa. Cruisers were despatched in all directions, and Lord Nelson immediately addressed the following order to Captain Thomas, of the *Ætna* bomb.—“Proceed off Cagliari, fire guns, and call out the Seahorse: desire Captain Boyle to join the *Fame* now standing to the westward, as I do not think the French will make Toro. I can tell him no more, as my movements must be very uncertain.” To Captain Durban of the *Ambuscade*, he at the same time wrote, “Proceed to Galita, communicate with the fishermen, and try and find out if they have seen the French fleet. I shall lie to all night and drift for Galita, and I shall try to keep within Sardinia and Galita till you join. If I am led away by information, I shall endeavour to send a letter to Palma, St. Pierre's, or Cagliari.” Captain Moubray, of the *Active*, was also directed to steer S. by E., true, and make the coast of Barbary, and after remaining twenty-four hours on that station, to endeavour to join the admiral.

To Lord Melville, 5th of April. Midway between the coast of Barbary and Sardinia. “My dear Lord: although I feel so far comfortable that the French fleet is at sea, yet I must have a natural and I hope a laudable anxiety of mind, until I have the happiness of seeing them. However, I have covered the channel from Barbary to Toro, with frigates and the fleet.

The French could not pass before to-day, if this be their route. I must leave as little as possible to chance, and I shall make sure they are to the eastward of me, before I risk either Sardinia, Sicily, or Naples; for they may delay their time of coming even this distance, from an expectation that I shall push for Egypt, and thus leave them at liberty to act against Sardinia, Sicily, or Naples. I have taken everything into my most serious consideration; and although I may err in my judgment, yet your lordship may rely, that I will do what I think is best for the honour of my king and country, and for the protection of his majesty's allies. I will not say more." He also, on the same day, sent information of what had taken place to Mr. Stratton, our minister at Constantinople, and that, when last seen, the enemy* were steering directly for the coast of Africa, precisely the route which Ganteaume had taken when he attempted to land troops in Egypt. By the same opportunity he wrote to the grand vizir, in order to put the Turks still more on their guard, and to secure their co-operation. He assured the grand vizir of his inviolable attachment to the Sublime Porte and his imperial majesty; that in having recently pursued the common enemy to the Morea and Egypt, believing that to have been their destination, he had only obeyed the orders of his sovereign; "and no particular merit," added Nelson, "is, I feel, due to an officer for the performance of his duty. I think it is very possible that their destination may be either to the Morea or Egypt. I have placed his majesty's fleet in the narrow part between Sardinia and the coast of Africa, therefore it is scarcely possible for them to pass without my seeing them, or receiving accounts from the frigates. . . I have only to hope that God Almighty will deliver them into my hands, and give his blessing to my endeavours to serve the public cause." A devout reliance on God is conspicuous in the character of this great

* Statement of the two fleets, as sent by Lord Nelson to Mr. Stratton.—*French fleet*: eleven sail of the line, seven frigates, two brigs.—*English fleet*: eleven sail of the line, four frigates, two corvettes.

admiral; his frequent perusal of the scriptures led him continually to adopt the very words and language of the sacred historian: in concluding a letter which he addressed on the same day to the new capitan pasha. . . *I hope*, said Nelson, *that the God of battles will crown my endeavours with success, against the enemies of the Sublime Porte and of my gracious sovereign.*

Lord Nelson waited in the situation he had thus judiciously taken, until he was satisfied that the object of the enemy was not to pass between Sardinia and the coast of Barbary, as Ganteaume had done; and the British fleet then bore up on the 7th of April for Palermo, in order to cover Sicily, and the more eastern parts of the Mediterranean, in case the enemy should have passed to the northward of Corsica. Captain Capel had been directed to proceed to the rendezvous, and to communicate with the Thunder bomb, Captain G. Cocks, informing whoever was on the rendezvous, of the station the fleet had taken; and Captain Capel was ordered even to go and look into Toulon, if no information of the enemy could otherwise be procured. Captain Mundy, in the Hydra, was at the same time sent off the coast of Sardinia and to the Madelena Islands, and was instructed to call in his way at Cagliari. On the 7th day the fleet bore up, Captain Boyle was detached to Maretimo, to inquire of the commanding officer, if he had seen the French fleet pass that island within the last four or five days. Captain Hallowell was at the same time sent in the Tigre to Sir John Acton at Palermo, and Captain Parker, in the Amazon, to his excellency Mr. Elliot at Naples. •

Not having obtained any information either from the frigates, or from Palermo or Messina, it appeared to him no longer doubtful that the enemy were gone down the Mediterranean. Upon which he changed his course, and from the 11th of April used every possible exertion to get to the westward; sending frigates to Gibraltar and Lisbon, for the purpose of procuring provisions and obtaining intelligence, one of

which was also detached to Admiral Cornwallis off Brest.* It was the 16th of April before any tidings could be obtained of the enemy; when it appeared from a neutral spoken by the Leviathan, that the French had been seen on the 7th off Cape de Gatte, and it was soon afterwards ascertained that they had passed the Straits of Gibraltar on the 8th. *If this man speaks true*, said Nelson, *they may be half way to Ireland, or Jamaica, by this time. Oh, that I could but find them! I am very unhappy.* On the 16th he informed Mr. Elliot, that the fleet was then beating hard to get round the southern end of Sardinia, with a westerly wind blowing strong. Lord Nelson had resolved, as soon as possible, to ascertain that the French fleet had certainly not returned to Toulon, and then to proceed to the westward; but receiving on the same day the intelligence that they had passed the Straits on the 8th, he thus expressed his disappointment in a letter to the Admiralty: "Under the severe affliction which I feel at the escape of the French fleet out of the Mediterranean, I hope that their lordships will not impute it to any want of due attention on my part; but, on the contrary, that by my vigilance* the enemy found it was impossible to undertake any expedition in the Mediterranean. The frigates which I had appointed to watch them, unfortunately lost sight of their ships during the night of March 31st, and from April 4th, when they joined, we have had nothing but strong and sometimes hard gales of westerly and n.w. winds; and it appears that the French fleet must have had strong gales easterly. On Tuesday the 9th I made sail from the western end of Sicily for the westward, but to this moment I have only advanced sixty-five leagues. I shall leave Captain Capel* with five frigates and the small

* Captain Moubray of the Active, having executed his former orders, joined the fleet; and was next sent to Gibraltar, and thence without one moment's loss of time to the English Channel. On not meeting with any cruiser belonging to the Western Squadron, or the Irish Station, he was to proceed to the respective admirals on both stations, and deliver Lord Nelson's despatches.

† "This," said his lordship in writing on the same day to Sir John Acton, "is the only gleam of comfort that comes across me."

‡ Sir Richard Bickerton, who had shifted his flag from the Royal Sovereign

craft, to protect our commerce, and to prevent the French sending troops by sea."

During the summer season in the Mediterranean very little dependence can be placed on the winds, but April was too early to reckon on such unsteadiness; they proved, however, favourable in the extreme to the enemy; for whilst the British fleet, as the admiral remarked, had strong southerly and westerly winds, the French had them equally fresh from the N.E. Thus, had he obtained earlier intelligence of their destination, it would have been impossible to overtake them in the Mediterranean; and as far as he could form any judgment of their destination, he believed it to have been easterly. By the wise measures he immediately adopted with his five frigates, he effectually guarded Sardinia, Naples, Sicily, Egypt, and the Morea; and with such objects and claims on his protection, it was impossible for him to have gone to the westward until he had ascertained their real object. Notwithstanding every exertion, he did not get in sight of Gibraltar before the 30th of April, about which time he first heard of Villeneuve having been reinforced by some ships, under Gravina, from Cadiz; and as there was no possibility of passing the Straits at that time, and his ships would be equally ready to embrace the least favourable spurt of wind when at anchor on the Barbary shore, as by remaining under sail, he profited of the opportunity of watering in Mazari Bay, and ordered the *Superb* to Tetuan, to procure cattle, fruit, and vegetables for the squadron. In a few hours a very considerable supply of the latter salutary article was taken off by ten ships. The expedition, activity, and zeal which appeared throughout the squadron in watering and refitting, were perhaps without a parallel: a laudable spirit animated and

to a smaller ship, was left with the command in the Mediterranean. The five frigates, &c. left with the *Phoebe*, Captain Capel, consisted of the *Hydra*, G. Mundy; *Ambuscade*, W. Durban; *Juno*, H. Richardson; *Niger*, James Hillyar; *Thunder bomb*, G. Cocks; and *Ætna*, R. Thomas. Captain Capel was particularly instructed to cover Sardinia, Sicily, and the route to Egypt, from any troops that might be sent to land in those places: and Captain Sotherton of the *Excellent*, 74, remained as guardship at Naples.

impelled the officers and seamen of each ship on such occasions, and made it a perpetual display of good-humoured emulation to be reported the first ready. Such was Nelson, and such the manner in which the operations of his fleet were performed.

His own sufferings at that time continued to be very great, and some idea of them may be formed from the following passages in his letters.—19th of April. “My good fortune, my dear Ball, seems flown away. I cannot get a fair wind, or even a side-wind—dead foul! dead foul! but my mind is fully made up what to do when I leave the Straits, supposing there is no certain information of the enemy’s destination. I believe this ill luck will go near to kill me; but as these are times for exertion, I must not be cast down, whatever I may feel.—Always, my dear Ball, yours faithfully.” Notwithstanding this anxiety, nothing escaped his attention, as appears from a short note to General Fox at Gibraltar, with whom he was unacquainted: “Broken-hearted as I am, Sir, at the escape of the Toulon fleet, yet it cannot prevent my thinking of all the points intrusted to my care, amongst which Gibraltar stands prominent: I wish you to consider me as particularly desirous to give every comfort to the old rock.” To Lord Melville, on the same day, he emphatically wrote as follows: “. . . I am not made to despair—what man can do shall be done: I have marked out for myself a decided line of conduct, and I shall follow it well up; although I have now before me a letter from the physician of the fleet, enforcing my return to England before the hot months. Therefore, notwithstanding I shall pursue the enemy to the East or West Indies, if I know either to have been their destination, yet if the Mediterranean fleet joins the Channel, I shall request with that order permission to go on shore.” With this idea of being probably induced to join Lord Gardner in the Channel, Nelson addressed the following note to him on the same day: “If the Toulon fleet, with that of Cadiz, is gone your road, the ships under my command may be no unacceptable sight: if you do not want our help, tell us to go back again. I feel vexed at their

slipping out of the Mediterranean, as I had marked them for my own game. However, I hope, my dear lord, that you will annihilate them, instead of your most faithful humble servant—Nelson and Bronte.”

On the 5th of May a breeze at length sprung up from the eastward. The signal was immediately made to weigh: the Superb was recalled from Tetuan, leaving the cattle and other refreshments which had just been brought down on the beach, and aſſ the squadron was seen standing to the westward; when the wind suddenly failed, and on the 7th Lord Nelson anchored in Rosia Bay, Gibraltar. But before all the fleet had done the same, there was every appearance of a Levanter coming on; the ships were unmoored, the provisioned transports taken in tow, and at six o'clock the whole was again under sail, steering through the Straits. . . “If nothing is heard of them from Lisbon,” he wrote to Mr. Marsden, “or from the frigates I may find off Cape St. Vincent, I shall probably think the rumours which have been spread are true, that their object was the West Indies; and in that case I think it my duty to follow them—or to the antipodes, should I believe that to be their destination. I shall despatch a sloop-of-war to England from off the Cape, when my mind is made up, either from information, or the want of it.”

It was entirely inconsistent with Lord Nelson's great professional character, and regard for the discipline of the service, to take so bold a step as the pursuit of the enemy to the West Indies, until he had every reason to believe they could not have sailed in any other direction. A considerable time elapsed before he had made up his mind to take so great a responsibility upon himself: and it is the more necessary to make this remark, lest other officers, led on by the impulse of zeal unsubdued by the reflection he employed, and the splendour of this resolute pursuit, may erroneously indulge a contrary idea to their own destruction. The saddles that had been embarked on board the French fleet, had made him long think of Egypt as its object, and afterwards Ireland; and, with

this idea, it had been originally his intention before he left the Mediterranean, as appears by his letter to the Admiralty,* to have proceeded from Cape St. Vincent, and taken a position fifty leagues west from Scilly; approaching that island slowly, *that he might not miss any vessels sent in search of the squadron with orders: and he gave this as his reason for thinking of doing so—because from that position, it would have been equally easy to get either to the fleet off Brest, or to go to Ireland.* The same idea appears also in his letters to Commissioner Otway at Gibraltar.—April 26th. “I rather think, as the Spaniards went with them, that they are destined first for Ferrol, and then either for Ireland or Brest. I can say nothing certain as to my movements, until I get intelligence.” Afterwards when off Tetuan, May 4th, he adds, “I cannot very properly run to the West Indies without something beyond mere surmise, and if I defer my departure, Jamaica may be lost: I shall take all matters into my most serious consideration, and shall do that which seemeth best under all circumstances.” Not meeting with any intelligence from Sir John Orde’s cruisers on arriving at Gibraltar, as had been expected, Lord Nelson then became more inclined to feel he should be justified in following the route which reports had given to the enemy: *I still am as much in the dark as ever*, said he on the 7th, in writing to Sir Evan Nepean, *I am now pushing off Cape St. Vincent, where I hope to be more fortunate, and I shall join the Amazon from Lisbon, from which place I have accounts to April 27th, when they knew nothing of the enemy. If I hear nothing, I shall proceed to the West Indies.*

It was not, therefore, until this great officer had thoroughly examined the Mediterranean to the eastward, had weighed in his mind the probability of the enemy’s having taken a northern direction on leaving the Straits, and had decided what position in that case to adopt to cover Ireland and Brest; that, on hearing from Lisbon, so late as April 27th, when nothing had been known of the fleets, he at length allowed his daring and

* April 19th, as also by that to Lord Gardner commanding in the Channel, of the same date.

enterprising genius to adopt the plan of that pursuit to the *West Indies*, which so effectually disconcerted the intentions of the enemy, and drove them back terrified to Europe. On passing the Straits, a circumstance occurred, not hitherto noticed, which must have proved of considerable comfort to his mind, on having resolved, amidst such uncertainty, to take so decided a measure ; as it enabled him to proceed with greater confidence than he could otherwise have done. At that critical moment, but whether on the return of the *Amazon* from Lisbon, or on his arrival at Lagos bay, is uncertain, Lord Nelson received a visit from Admiral Donald Campbell, already mentioned under the year 1799, as an English officer of repute in the Portuguese service ; and was informed by him* in confidence, that the West Indies was undoubtedly the destination of the combined fleets. On receiving this intelligence, Lord Nelson had but little doubt that the reports which had prevailed were founded on fact. As soon as his subsequent determination was known, Captain Keats desired, that notwithstanding the crippled state of the *Superb* she might be allowed to accompany the *Victory* : upon which the admiral sent him the following reply : “ I am very much pleased, my dear Keats, at the cheerfulness with which you are determined to share the fate of the fleet. Perhaps none of us would exactly wish for a West India trip ; but the call of our country is far superior to any consideration of self. I will take care *Superb* shall have neighbour’s fare in every thing.”

Lord Nelson did not leave Cape St. Vincent until he had provided every thing in his power for the benefit of his majesty’s service in those seas. He waited off that Cape until Admiral

* Admiral Campbell suffered most severely for this visit to the *Victory*, as appears by a subsequent letter to Lord Nelson, dated Sept. 27th, 1805. Notwithstanding the rigid secrecy which Lord Nelson observed, a complaint was soon afterwards made against Donald Campbell by the Spanish naval commander-in-chief at Algesiras, which instantly brought down the vengeance of the French ambassador at the court of Portugal, and terminated in the admiral’s being laid on the shelf. His income was accordingly very considerably reduced ; and though the British government assured him of its support, the death of Campbell soon afterwards involved his widow and family in distress.

Knight had joined with a fleet of transports, having 5000 troops on board under the command of Sir James Craig, taking care that the admiral was seen safely inside the Gut; and not feeling quite satisfied with the force of his flag-ship the Queen, and her companion the Dragon, Captain E. Griffith, his lordship on further consideration added the Royal Sovereign, Admiral Sir R. Bickerton, which in his opinion rendered it impossible for all the force at Carthagea to make any impression upon them. Not even then being quite satisfied in his own mind, of having paid a sufficient attention to the service on which Admiral Knight was sent, Lord Nelson drew up the following directions for his guidance: "My dear Admiral; I have only to recommend, in order to make sure of your safe arrival, that you do not go near the land between Cadiz and Cape Trafalgar; but get, as soon as you can, into the latitude of Cape Spartel, before you run for the Straits' mouth. And I must beg most seriously to call your attention, to carry the convoy safe into Gibraltar from the numerous gun-boats and privateers which cover the Straits: I beg, therefore to recommend, that the convoy is not carried near Tariffa, or Cabrita point, but kept in the middle of the Gut, until Gibraltar bears N.N.E. The being driven to the eastward is of no consequence if it should be calm, any vessel may work with ease round Europa point. And there is only one thing more that I think it my duty to recommend; which is, that the men-of-war are not suffered to anchor until every vessel of the convoy is anchored; for you may rely, that a serious attack will be made upon any stragglers, or on the last ships of the convoy, if there should be little wind."

When we consider the state of Lord Nelson's mind at that moment, his impaired health and spirits, the continual fatigue and anxiety which he had endured, in being, as he informed the Duke of Clarence, *one whole month in getting down the Mediterranean, which the French had done in nine days*; it is hardly possible to suppose that the human mind could embrace such a variety of objects, and yet keep steadily fixed on the great and leading one of all, the pursuit of so superior

an enemy: *I am going*, said he to Sir John Acton, *to the West Indies, where the enemy have twenty-four sail of the line; my force is very, very inferior.* I only take ten with me, and I only expect to be joined by six.* Admiral Knight not appearing, he determined, on the 10th of May, to proceed to Lagos Bay, whence on his arrival he wrote to Admiral Campbell: "Here we are, my dear Campbell, clearing Sir John Orde's transports which I found in Lagos Bay, completing ourselves to five months; and to-morrow I start for the West Indies. Disappointment has worn me to a skeleton, and I am in good truth very, very far from well. Sir Richard Bickerton remains in the Mediterranean, and Admiral Knight, reports say, is to command at Gibraltar. He is at present off Lisbon with the convoy of troops. I wish he would come here; but he has been deceived by false information that the combined squadrons were still in Cadiz—I wish they were: but I am sorry to believe they are now in the West Indies, or just off."

His whole attention was now directed to the West Indies, when the same wisdom and cool precaution appeared throughout all his conduct. No hurry, no distraction of thought, everything weighed in the balance of the coolest judgment, everything provided against with a forethought that has been seldom if ever equalled. His first step was to detach a fast-

* Victory, Superb, Donegal, Spencer, Tigre, Canopus, Leviathan, Belleisle, Conqueror, Swiftsure. Frigates, Amazon, Amphion, Decade. The French fleet consisted of Le Bucentaur, 80, Vice-Admiral Villeneuve, le Neptune, 80, l'Indomptable, 80, Rear-Admiral Dumanoir, le Formidable, 80, l'Aigle, 74, l'Atlas, 74, le Swiftsure, 74, le Berwick, 74, le Mont Blanc, 74, l'Intrepide, 74, le Pluton, 74, le Scipion, 74: six 44 gun frigates, and one of 26 guns; three corvettes, and the Cyane, English prize, which had been taken in the preceding year, May 12, by the Hortense and Hermione, near Martinique. —The Dido, 44, afterwards joined. The six Spanish ships of the line were the Argonaute, 90, Admiral Gravina, commander-in-chief, la Firma, 80, le Terrible, 80, San Raphael, 80, San Jago del America, 64, San Jago del Espana, 64, and one frigate, Santa Magdalena, 44. This combined fleet had on board from 3000 to 3,200 French troops, and from 15 to 1600 Spanish; exclusive of about 600 under orders at Martinique, and about 1000 under orders at Guadaloupe. General Lauriston was commander in chief of the troops, General Rey second, and a Spanish general. Two more new French ships of the line afterwards joined.

sailing sloop, the *Martin*, Captain R.H. Savage, on the 11th, before the fleet, with a letter to the right. hon. Lord Seaforth at Barbadoes; and on the same day Admiral Knight, with the expected convoy of 5000 troops, passed towards the Straits. The admiral requested Lord Seaforth, in case Admiral Cochrane should not be at Barbadoes, that he would open and read the official letter that had been sent to him, and would recommend its being forwarded as expeditiously as possible to Admiral Cochrane. Lord Nelson also earnestly begged an embargo might be laid on all vessels at Barbadoes, that the enemy might not be apprised of his arrival, and thereby again escape from his fleet. Before he sailed, he addressed a few lines to his friend Lord Sidmouth, when the visit of the Portuguese Admiral Donald Campbell was noticed, and a letter from him to Lord Sidmouth which had been sent home in the Admiralty packet. *My lot, added Nelson, seems to have been hard, and the enemy's most fortunate; but it may turn. Patience and perseverance will do much.*

He made Madeira on the 15th of May; and the next day a ship, having the appearance of an enemy's cruiser, was chased for a short time. Greater exertion was never employed for an expeditious passage; and he calculated in gaining by it eight or ten days on the enemy, who had no less than thirty-five days' start of him. As the squadron approached Barbadoes, the *Amazon*, Captain Parker, was despatched on the 29th of May to Admiral Cochrane, in order to prepare whatever naval force there might be in Carlisle Bay, to join Lord Nelson on his approach, who repeated his desire to Lord Seaforth that a strict embargo might be laid on all vessels, as he fully intended not to anchor in Carlisle Bay, nor to send a frigate from the fleet; but to carry the news to Martinique himself of his arrival in those seas, and, as he concluded his letter to Lord Seaforth, *to get at the enemy without one moment's delay.*

On the third of June, he received intelligence of the enemy being in the West Indies, from two British merchant ships; and on the 4th, the king's birth-day, he reached Barbadoes,

and sent the following letter to the Admiralty. "I arrived off here at noon this day, where I found Rear-Admiral Cochrane in the Northumberland, and the Spartiate is just joining. There is not a doubt but that Tobago and Trinidad are the enemy's objects; and although I am anxious in the extreme to get at their eighteen sail of the line, yet as Sir W. Myers has offered to embark himself with 2000 troops, I cannot refuse such a handsome offer. I am now working to an anchorage, and I hope that we shall have sailed before six hours are over, with the general and troops."

The alarm which prevailed for the safety of Tobago and Trinidad was very great. Intelligence* had been received that the enemy's fleet, consisting of eighteen sail, had been seen on the 28th of May from St. Lucia, standing to the southward. This was corroborated by other accounts, and no doubt of its authenticity existed with any one, except Lord Nelson; who, on his opinion being overruled, replied, *If your intelligence proves false, you lose me the French fleet.* But this intelligence, supported by an application from General Sir W. Myers, commander-in-chief, to convey himself and 2000 troops to the relief of Tobago and Trinidad, could not be resisted. The admiral consequently worked his ships up to Carlisle Bay, received the general and troops that evening on board the squadron, and on the morning of the 5th of June at eight A.M. sailed from Barbadoes with twelve ships of the line, four frigates, three sloops, and four smaller vessels. The Curieux brig, Captain Bettesworth, was detached to look into Tobago for information; a vessel was sent by Sir W. Myers to General Prevost at Dominica, to acquaint him with the

* This unfortunate intelligence (although perhaps it was the means of saving Lord Nelson's life a few months longer for his country, since the superiority of the enemy was so great) had been conveyed to him on the 4th of June, when in Carlisle Bay, in the following extract by Sir W. Myers' secretary from a letter of Brigadier-General Brereton to General Sir W. Myers, dated St. Lucia, May 29, eleven o'clock A.M. "I have this moment received a report from the windward side of Gros Islet, that the enemy's fleet, of twenty-eight sail in all, passed there last night; their destination I should suppose must be either Barbadoes or Trinidad."

admiral's arrival; Colonel Shipley of the engineers was directed to communicate with the nearest post on Trinidad, in order to ascertain the situation of the enemy, and signals were agreed upon to convey the earliest information on his return to the squadron.

The British fleet accordingly stood to the southward with fine breezes all night. Lord Nelson had been recommended, on account of the strong lee currents which almost constantly run there with great violence, to steer s. by E. from Barbadoes. On the next day, the 6th of June, the fleet arrived off Great Courland Bay, Tobago; and Captain Henderson, of the Pheasant sloop, was directed to proceed with all expedition to Port Toko in Trinidad, to send a boat on shore with Sir W. Myers' letters, for information whether the enemy were in the Gulf of Paria, and to communicate by signal with the admiral in the morning. At Tobago all was bustle and apparent uncertainty, when, in addition, the following singular occurrence took place. A merchant, particularly anxious to ascertain whether the fleet was that of a friend or enemy, had prevailed on his clerk, with whom he had also agreed respecting signals, to embark in a schooner and to stand towards it; and it unfortunately happened, that the very signal made by the clerk corresponded with the affirmative signal which had been agreed on by Colonel Shipley, *of the enemy being at Trinidad*. It was the close of the day, and no opportunity occurred of discovering the mistake. An American merchant-brig also had been spoken with the same day by the Curieux, probably sent to mislead, whose master reported that he had been boarded a few days before by the French fleet off Grenada, standing towards the Bocas of Trinidad. No doubts were any longer entertained, the news flew throughout the British squadron, the ships were ready for action before daybreak, and Nelson anticipated a second Aboukir in the Bay of Paria. If further confirmation was necessary, it appeared in the seeming conflagration of one of our outposts at daylight, and the party retreating towards the citadel. The admiral and officers of his squadron, after such corroboration, felt it difficult to believe

the evidence of their senses, when, on entering the Gulf of Paria on the 7th, no enemy was to be seen, nor had any been there ! The intelligence from St. Lucia, the corroborating accounts met with at Barbadoes, the American's report off *Tobago*, the schooner's signal, and conflagration of the out-post, were all false or delusive ; and had contributed to draw the fleet so far to leeward, that it could not, as would seem, fetch to windward of Grenada. Patience and perseverance, however, as the admiral had observed to Lord Sidmouth, did much.

On the 8th of June, according to his diary, "at daylight an advice-boat arrived in the fleet from Barbadoes, with letters from Captain Morrice, giving an account of the capture of the Diamond Rock, and also that the French and Spanish squadrons *had not sailed from Martinique*, but that the French commodore had told him, that the Ferrol squadron, consisting of six sail of French and eight of Spaniards, had arrived in Fort Royal June the 4th." Lord Nelson, when writing on the same day to Lord Seaforth, after giving his liberal meed of praise to the gallant defenders of the Diamond Rock, said with his usual good humour, "the information from St. Lucia of the combined squadron having been off that island to windward, must have been very incorrect. I have my doubts respecting the certainty of the arrival of the Ferrol squadron, as I have always understood that nothing could pass in or out of Fort Royal without being seen : but, my lord, powerful as their force may be, they shall not with impunity make any great attacks. Mine is compact, theirs must be unwieldy ; and although a very pretty fiddle, I don't believe that either Gravina or Villeneuve know how to play upon it."

The disappointment and feelings of Lord Nelson at this time may easily be imagined. He had entered the Gulf of Paria, and found the complete fallacy of every thing that had been asserted in opposition to his own ideas ; which, though deduced from apparent conjecture, proved alone to be correct. With his accustomed activity and firmness of mind, he immediately exerted his great abilities to remedy the evil, and to overcome

the obstacles that presented themselves. Having obtained an account on the 8th of June, that the enemy had not moved on the 4th from Fort Royal, but were expected to sail that night for the attack of Grenada, he on the 9th arrived off Grenada, *displaying such expedition as perhaps there is no example of in any fleet.* On his arrival he received a letter from General Prevost, that the enemy had passed Dominica on the 6th, standing to the northward. On the 8th they had passed to leeward of Antigua, and that day had taken a convoy of sugar-laden ships which had unfortunately left St. John's during the night for England. Lord Nelson, having on his passage communicated with Dominica, on the 11th was off Montserrat, and at sun-set of the 12th of June anchored in St. John's, Antigua, to land the troops; when he sent the Curieux to England with his despatches, in which was the following letter to his friend the Duke of Clarence: "Your royal highness will easily conceive the misery I am feeling, at hitherto having missed the French fleet; and entirely owing to false information sent from St. Lucia, which arrived at Barbadoes the evening of June 3d. This caused me to embark Sir William Myers and 2000 troops, and to proceed to Tobago and 'Trinidad. But for that false information, I should have been off Port Royal as they were putting to sea, and our battle most probably would have been fought on the spot where the brave Rodney beat de Grasse. I am rather inclined to believe they are pushing for Europe to get out of our way; and the moment my mind is made up, I shall stand for the Straits' mouth. But I must not move, after having saved these colonies and 200 and upwards of sugar-laden ships, until I feel sure they are gone. We saw, about 200 leagues to the westward of Madeira, a vessel which I took to be a French corvette, that watched us two days; but we could not take her. She, I hear, gave Gravina notice of our approach, and that probably hastened his movements; however, I feel I have done my duty to the very utmost of my abilities. The combined squadrons passed to leeward of Antigua on Saturday the 8th, standing to the northward. My heart is almost broke, and with my very

serious complaints I cannot expect long to go on.”—To Earl Camden: “My Lord: however unhappy I may feel at not having got up with the enemy’s fleet, yet I should think myself very remiss if I failed to inform your lordship, and to request you to inform his majesty, of the very spirited conduct of Lieut.-General Sir William Myers, who offered to embark on board the fleet with 2000 troops, in order to try and annihilate both the enemy’s fleet and army, had we fortunately found them in any of our islands. The zeal of the lieutenant-general and the whole body of troops, was such as could not be exceeded; and it is a matter of sincere regret that we have not met with the enemy. But great merit is not less due to the lieutenant-general, for the expedition with which the troops were collected from different parts of Barbadoes, and to the officers and men for the cheerfulness with which they embarked.”

Lord Nelson had also, on the 10th of June, written to an old commercial friend, Mr. Simon Taylor, of Jamaica: “My dear Sir: I was in a thousand fears for Jamaica, for that is a blow which Buonaparte would be happy to give us. I flew to the West Indies without any orders, but I think the ministry cannot be displeased. . . . When I am satisfied that they are on their return, after sending some of the Spanish ships to the Havanna, I shall push hard to get off the Straits’ mouth; *and kind Providence may some happy day bless my endeavours to serve the public weal*, of which the West India colonies form so prominent and interesting a part. I ever have been and shall die a firm friend to our present colonial system. I was bred as you know in the good old school, and taught to appreciate the value of our West India possessions; and neither in the field nor in the senate shall their just rights be infringed, whilst I have an arm to fight in their defence, or a tongue to launch my voice. We are nearly, my dear Mr. Taylor, thirty years’ acquaintance; and I am, as ever, your faithful and obliged friend.”

Thus, in the short space of eight days, had this great admiral secured our West India colonies from that plunder and havoc with which they had been threatened by the combined fleets

of France and Spain ; during which he had received on board and disembarked 2000 troops, had entered the Gulf of Paria, and surmounting the various obstacles that combined to retard his progress, had shown his protecting power to every island in the chain from Trinidad to St. Kitt's. With a very inferior fleet, by the terror of his name, (he was styled by the French *Cet amiral déterminé*,) he had compelled them to fly to Europe on the first tidings of his approach ; and he immediately resolved, without a moment's delay, or any information of their route, again to pursue them across the Atlantic, and to trust to his own judgment to discover their destination. The combined squadrons had been last seen standing to the northward ; Lord Nelson had made up his mind as to their course. Some imagined that they would return from the northward, and attack Barbadoes ; others, that they would go to St. John's, Porto Rico, be there joined by reinforcements, and then proceed to Jamaica : whilst, on the contrary, some were inclined to believe, that they would call at the Havanna for such Spanish ships as were ready, if they did not send those that were with them thither ; or else, that they would make a sweep along the coast of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, which could be done without delay : " I hear all," said Lord Nelson in a letter to Sir A. Ball, " and even feel obliged, for all is meant as kindness to me, that I should get at them. In this diversity of opinions I may as well follow my own, which is, *that the Spaniards are gone to the Havanna, and that the French will either stand for Cadiz or Toulon—I feel most inclined, to the latter place ; and then they may fancy that they will get to Egypt without any interruption.*

The troops having been disembarked at Antigua on the morning of the 13th of June, and Rear-Admiral Cochrane remaining on his station, Lord Nelson sailed at noon in pursuit of the enemy with his squadron of eleven ships, taking with him the Spartiate, Captain Sir F. Laforey ; confidently believing that he should be able by superior management to reach their own shores before they arrived. Whenever opportunities offered of going on board the Victory, without causing

any delay to the squadron, he would occasionally call some of his captains to him. But although pleased to hear their opinions, he adhered to his own, and, in his turn, with his usual courtesy and frankness, assigned the reasons on which it continued to be founded.

In one of these unreserved conversations, he said, "I am thankful that the enemy has been driven from the West India islands with so little loss to our country. I had made up my mind to great sacrifices; for, I had determined, notwithstanding his vast superiority, to stop his career, and to put it out of his power to do any further mischief. Yet do not imagine I am one of those hot-brained people who fight at immense disadvantage, without an adequate object. My object is partly gained. If we meet them, we shall find them not less than eighteen, I rather think twenty sail of the line, and therefore do not be surprised if I should not fall on them immediately—*We went part without a battle.* I think they will be glad to let me alone, if I will let them alone; which I will do, either till we approach the shores of Europe, or they give me an advantage too tempting to be resisted."

On the 16th of June the British fleet continued standing to the northward, and without any intelligence of the enemy. The Amazon, indeed, on the preceding day had chased a schooner, but could not come up with her. In writing on the 16th to Sir Evan Nepean, Lord Nelson thus opened his mind to him without reserve. "So far from being infallible like the pope, I believe my opinions to be very fallible, and, therefore, I may be mistaken in thinking that the enemy's fleet is gone to Europe: and yet I cannot bring myself to think otherwise, notwithstanding the variety of opinions which different people of good judgment form. But I have called every circumstance that I have heard of their proceedings before me. I have considered the approaching season, the sickly state of their troops and ships, the means and time for defence which have been given to our islands, and the certainty with which the enemy must expect the arrival of our reinforcements—and therefore, if they were not able to make an attack for the first

three weeks after they had reached the West Indies, they could not hope for greater success when our means of resistance had increased, and their means of defence were diminished; and it should be considered that the enemy will not give me credit for quitting the West Indies for this month to come. As this is a letter of reasoning on my conduct, I may perhaps be prolix, but I am anxious to stand well in your opinion; and if my conduct is taken into consideration by Mr. Pitt, I will thank you to show him what I have written. A frigate certainly came from France May 31st; from that moment all was hurry. On June 1st, I believe, the *Furet* arrived with an account of my being on the passage. If Barbadoes be the object of the enemy's attack, a fleet of men-of-war could get there, on the average, in four or five days: therefore why should they make a passage of at least fifteen or sixteen days by going to the northward? If Tobago or Trinidad were their object, they had only to weather St. Lucia, and they could fetch them with ease. To St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Grenada, they had a fair wind; therefore it must be unnecessary to go to the northward. If, therefore, any of those islands are the objects of their attack, as some people suppose, they are playing a game which I own is incomprehensible to my weak understanding, and I am completely deceived. What impression could they expect to make upon Jamaica with four or five thousand men? and if that were their object, why not steer direct from Martinique? Some think they may be going to St. John's Porto Rico, and wait to be joined there by reinforcements, but the season is passed: nor if fifteen sail of the line were coming out to join them, would there be occasion to hide themselves from our observation? My opinion is firm as a rock, that some counter-orders, or an inability to perform any service in these seas, have made them resolve to proceed directly to Europe, sending the Spanish ships to the Havanna."

On the next day, June 17th, Lord Nelson issued the following directions, "To the captains of any of his majesty's ships, cruising off the Western Islands, or not proceeding on more

important service. Sir, as I believe the enemy's fleet is bound to Europe, and it being very uncertain whether they will go to Ferrol or Cadiz, I beg leave most strongly to recommend your proceeding off Ferrol, with this information, to the admiral commanding off that port, in order that he may be upon his guard against a surprise from a superior force." On the 18th, when writing to General Villettes,* he thus liberally spoke of the intelligence which had so misled him.—"My dear General: Unwell, and out of humour as I am by my disappointment, yet I will not let a letter go to Malta without writing you a line; and I am sure you will regret, with me, our old acquaintance Brereton's wrong information. Ball will show it to you, it could not be doubted, and by following it I lost the opportunity of fighting the enemy." "However," added he to Mr. Elliot, "I must not despair of getting up with them before they enter the Straits; at least they will have no time to carry their plans into execution, and do harm to any of the countries under my charge. I feel that mortal man could not do more to serve his country and the common cause faithfully. Your son is very well, and improves every day in his profession."

On the same day with the date of this letter, Tuesday 18th of June, the Amazon made the signal of intelligence to communicate. She had spoke a schooner, who had seen on the

* William-Ann Villettes, so often mentioned with regard by Lord Nelson, was descended from one of the most ancient families in France; his ancestors having been lords of Montdidier, in Languedoc, in the 13th century. He was born at Berne, June 14th, 1754. Being originally intended for the bar, his father entered him at Lincoln's Inn, where he kept two or three terms; but his ardour for a military life was so great, that a cornetcy in the 10th regiment of dragoons was obtained for him. After various services, and more particularly in the Mediterranean, from the year 1793, General Villettes at the close of 1807 was appointed lieutenant-governor and commander of the forces in Jamaica, where his amiable disposition and firm but conciliatory conduct soon obtained a general confidence and esteem. In July, 1808, he undertook a military tour of inspection through the island; but during his journey was seized with a fever, of which he died on the third day. (See *Gent. Mag.* vol. 70, p. 297.) A monument was erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey, near that of his friend the Hon. Sir C. Stuart.

preceding Saturday, at sun-set, a fleet of ships of war, consisting of twenty-two sail, steering to the northward, which appeared to be the combined fleet. The enemy by computation bore N. E. by N. eighty-seven leagues. On the 19th the Martin was detached to Gibraltar to give information of the enemy's return to Sir R. Bickerton, and the Decade to Lisbon. The anxiety of Lord Nelson was at this time extreme, and his depression of spirits from what he had gone through very great, which may be judged of from the following hasty note in his diary, 21st of June: *Midnight, nearly calm, saw three planks, which I think came from the French fleet. Very miserable, which is very foolish.* At the beginning of July the wind suddenly changed to N.E. with rain. *It appears hard,* exclaimed he, *but as it pleases God: he knows what is best for us poor weak mortals.* On the 8th of July they made but little progress: "We crawled," said the admiral, "thirty-three miles the last twenty-four hours; my only hope is, that the enemy's fleet are near us, and in the same situation. All night light breezes, standing to the eastward, to go to the northward of St. Michael's. At times squally with rain. On examining the Spanish log and chart we had taken in a bark from La Guira, I find that the combined squadrons went in sight of Cape Blanco, and passed close to the Salvages."—No circumstance of particular moment occurred during the passage back. Lord Nelson kept, at least for a considerable time, the daily supposed track and situation of the enemy. On Wednesday, 17th of July, the fleet came within sight of Cape St. Vincent, "making," observes the admiral in his diary, "our whole run from Barbuda, day by day, 3459 miles: our run from Cape St. Vincent to Barbadoes was 3227 miles, so that our run back was only 232 miles more than our run out—allowance being made for the difference of the latitudes and longitudes of Barbadoes and Barbuda; average per day thirty-four leagues wanting nine miles." On the 18th of July, being in want of provisions, he steered for the Straits' mouth; and at ten, Admiral Collingwood, who at first took the British fleet for that of the enemy, passed in the Dreadnought to the

northward with three sail of the line and some frigates.* *Cape Spartel in sight*, said Nelson, *but no French fleet, nor any information about them: how sorrowful this makes me, but I cannot help myself.* On the 19th he bore up and anchored in Gibraltar, yet still without gaining any information of the enemy. On the 20th, as is remarked in his diary, *I went on shore for the first time since the 16th of June, 1803; and from having my foot out of the Victory, two years wanting ten days.*

On the very next day, 21st of July, they were employed in getting ready for sea, and Lord Nelson sent home his despatches in the *Thomas*, merchant brig. The *Pickle* schooner arrived with letters from Admiral Collingwood, congratulating Lord Nelson on his return: "We approached, my dear lord, with caution, not knowing whether we were to expect you or the Frenchmen first. I have always had an idea that Ireland alone was the object they have in view, and still believe that to be their ultimate destination. They will now liberate the Ferrol squadron from Calder, make the round of the Bay, and, taking the Rochefort people with them, will appear off Ushant perhaps with thirty-four sail, there to be joined by twenty more. This appears a probable plan; for unless it be to

* On the sailing of the enemy's squadron from Toulon, and when it was uncertain whether Lord Nelson had followed them to the West Indies, or had taken a station to the westward of Ireland, Vice-Admiral Collingwood had been appointed to a squadron, with orders to go in pursuit of the enemy; or, in the event of receiving information that they were followed by Admiral Nelson, to make such a disposition as appeared best. Admiral Collingwood arrived off Cape Finisterre 27th of May, and fell in with Sir R. Bickerton, which determined him to take a station off Cadiz, to prevent any progress of the Spaniards; and on the day of his arrival there, he detached two of his fastest sailing ships, the *Rumillies* and *Illustrious*, to Barbadoes, in hopes of joining Lord Nelson. Sir R. Bickerton had proceeded up the Mediterranean, convoying the troops under General Sir James Craig until they had passed Carthage; when he was to watch the enemy's squadron in that port. The *Colossus*, Captain Morris, was stationed off Trafalgar, July 11, to look out for the enemy, of whose return advice had been received by the *Decade*. Admiral Collingwood, in his letter to Lord Nelson, said, "I am exceedingly pleased with Captain Mundy of the *Hydra*; his vigilance and activity are exemplary, he is a clever young man."

bring their powerful fleets and armies to some great point of service, some rash attempt at conquest, they have only been subjecting them to chance of loss ; which I do not believe the Corsican would do without the hope of an adequate reward. I have a letter from Calder to-day—the constant anxiety of his situation is wearing him down. The French government never aim at little things, while great objects are in view. I have considered the invasion of Ireland as the real mark and butt of all their operations. Their flight to the West Indies was to take off the naval force which proved the great impediment to their undertaking. This summer is big with events, we may all perhaps have an active share in them, and I sincerely wish your lordship strength of body to go through it, and to all others your strength of mind.”

Lord Nelson's squadron unmoored on the 22nd of July, intending, if the wind came westerly, to go to Tetuan for water, and if easterly, to go outside the Straits. At eight p.m. they accordingly anchored in Mazari Bey, about eight miles to the s.e. of the custom-house of Tetuan, where the river is very fine, and convenient for watering a squadron. He described in his diary the best anchorage for a fleet, which must weigh when the wind sets in easterly and blows fresh : “Bring the tower on the cape at the western side of the bay, to bear from w.n.w. to w. by s. and abreast of the bay, from half a mile to one and a half mile distant, where there is from ten to twenty fathom water. The river runs inside a sandy beach and parallel to it, so that boats may lay alongside the beach the whole extent of the bay, and roll their casks over to the river and fill them.” Many of the ships got 200 tons on board in one day; bullocks also were procured, and onions for the men. On the 24th the Decade joined from Admiral Collingwood, yet still no information of the enemy. The fleet weighed at noon, and stood for Ceuta; during the night they remained in the Gut, with variable winds and a thick fog. On the next day, the 25th of July, the Termagant joined, with an account that the combined fleet had been seen by the Curieux brig on the 19th, standing to the northward. Having passed

the Straits, and communicated with Admiral Collingwood, the squadron under Lord Nelson bore away to the westward, and then proceeded off Cape St. Vincent with a view to go more northward, or to act as circumstances of intelligence might render necessary. And now a circumstance occurred which, though trifling in itself, marked the extraordinary mind of Nelson. An American merchant-ship, spoken by one of the frigates, had fallen in a little to the westward of the Azores with an armed vessel, having the appearance of a privateer dismasted, and which had evident marks of having been set fire to and run on board by another ship, the impression of whose stern had penetrated the top sides. The crew had forsaken her, and the fire most probably had gone out of its own accord. In the cabin had been found a log-book and a few seamen's jackets, which were given to the officer, and taken on board the Victory; and, with these, the admiral immediately endeavoured to explain the mystery, and to discover some further intelligence of the enemy. The log-book, which closed with this remark, *Two large ships in the w.n.w.*, showed, in his opinion, that the abandoned vessel had been a Liverpool privateer cruising off the Western Islands. In the leaves of this log-book, a small scrap of dirty paper was found filled with figures, which no one could make anything of but Lord Nelson, who immediately on seeing it, remarked, *They are French characters!* After an attentive examination, he said, "I can unravel the whole: this privateer had been chased and taken by the two ships that were seen in the w.n.w. The prize-master, who had been put on board in a hurry, omitted to take with him his reckoning, there is none in the log-book; and this dirty scrap of paper, which none of you could make anything of, contains his work for the number of days since the privateer last set Corvo, with an unaccounted-for run, which I take to have been the chase, in his endeavour to find out his situation by back-reckonings. The jackets I find to be the manufacture of France, which prove the enemy was in possession of the privateer; and I conclude, by some mismanagement she was run on board of afterwards

by one of them, and dismasted. Not liking delay (for I am satisfied those two ships were the advanced ones of the French squadron), and fancying we were close at their heels, they set fire to the vessel, and abandoned her in a hurry. If my explanation, gentlemen, be correct, I infer from it they are gone more to the northward, and more to the northward I will look for them." Subsequent information proved that he was correct in every part of this interpretation.

The fleet accordingly stood more to the northward on the 3rd of August, with light breezes northerly, and hazy weather. "I feel," says his diary, "every moment of this foul wind, but I trust in Providence that it is all for the best; although I, a poor weak mortal, suffer severely with the mortification of so apparently long a passage as this will probably be, from the continuance of northerly winds. We are in lat. 39, n., long. 16, w., course west. No information; all night light airs." After some days the wind came more favourable, as appears from his diary (8th of August), when he emphatically noticed the change, and added, "In summer time, coming from the Mediterranean, you must not expect to lose the northerly wind, until you get into the longitude of 17 w." On the 12th the *Niobe* was spoken, three days from the Channel fleet, at which time no intelligence had been obtained of the enemy's arrival in any of the ports in the Bay of Biscay. On the 15th of August they fell in with Admiral Cornwallis off Ushant, and in the evening Lord Nelson received orders to proceed with the *Victory* and *Superb* to Portsmouth. On leaving his squadron, he addressed the following official communication, expressive of the estimation and regard which he entertained for his brave followers, to Admiral Louis.—"Sir, I have only a moment to beg that you will be so good as to express, in the manner best calculated to do justice, the high sense I entertain of the merit of the captains, officers, and ships' companies, lately composing the squadron under my command; and assure their able and zealous commanders, that their conduct has met my warmest approbation. I have only to repeat the high opinion I entertain of your distinguished

conduct." The letters that were afterwards written, expressive of the general regret that prevailed throughout the squadron, on parting with their gallant chief, were highly honourable to his character. "God bless you, my dear Nelson," replied Louis, "would to Heaven you were with us; believe me, the loss of you has been much felt. This instant all your old squadron's signals have been made, to join the Prince of Wales." "I look forward," said his friend Hallowell, "with pleasure to your resuming the command of us, to lead your old Mediterranean squadron to a victory which will give much satisfaction to the country."

The noble manner in which Lord Nelson always treated his brother officers, and respected the feelings of such as had experienced misfortune, is alone a proof of the greatness and goodness of his mind: more particularly in a profession, the members of which, as Lord Sandwich observed, fortunately resemble a rope of sand, and therefore have no power as a body. On the admiral's arriving in the Channel, he thus delivered his sentiments respecting Sir R. Calder's action, in a letter to Captain Freemantle: "I could not last night thank you for your kind letter, for I was in truth bewildered by the account of Sir Robert Calder's victory, and the joy of the event; together with the hearing that the nation was not content, which I am sorry for. Who, my dear Freemantle, can command all the success which our country may wish for? We have fought together, and therefore well know what it is: I have had the best disposed fleet of friends, but who can say what may be the event of a battle? And it most sincerely grieves me, that in any of the papers it should be insinuated, *Lord Nelson could have done better*. I should have fought the enemy, so did my friend Calder. Who can promise that he will be more successful than another? *I only wish to stand upon my own merits, and not by comparison, one way or the other, with the conduct of a brother officer*. You will forgive this dissertation, but I feel much upon the occasion. Believe me your most faithful and affectionate friend."—Nelson and Bronte.

On Saturday the 17th of August the Victory at daylight was abreast of Portland, at eleven she anchored off the Princessa shoal near the Isle of Wight, and the next day worked up to a good berth at Spithead—*Just two years and three months*, adds Lord Nelson, *from my arrival at Portsmouth in 1803*. On the next day, in writing to his brother William, the Rev. Dr. Nelson, he again touched on the action of Sir R. Calder: “You will have heard, my dear brother, of our arrival, but I know you would like better to have it under my hand. I am but so-so—yet, what is very odd, the better for going to the West Indies, even with the anxiety. We must not talk of Sir Robert Calder’s battle, I might not have done so much with my small force. If I had fallen in with them, you would probably have been a lord before I wished; for I know they meant to make a dead set at the Victory. Hardy is, I am sorry to say, very unwell. Give my kind love to Mrs. Nelson, Horace, &c. and best regards to Archdeacon Yonge, to Rolfe, and our other friends; and be assured that I am your most affectionate brother.” Before the admiral left the Victory he gave the following most honourable testimony to his secretary, the late Mr J. Scott: “I cannot allow myself to part from you, even, as I hope, for a very short time, without giving you the assurance of my sincere esteem and regard; and to say, that, as a secretary, for ability, punctuality, and regularity, I believe your superior is not to be met with; and as a gentleman, that your whole conduct has been most exemplary. Wishing you health and every felicity, believe me always, my dear Sir, your obliged and sincere friend.”

His excellency Mr. Elliot, in writing to Lord Nelson during the month of August from Naples, thus delivered the general sentiments of diplomatic men respecting the admiral’s late proceedings.—My Lord: Either the distances between the different quarters of the globe are diminished, or you have extended the powers of human action. After an unremitting cruise of two long years in the stormy Gulf of Lyons, to have proceeded without going into port to Alexandria, from Alexandria to the West Indies, from the West Indies back again to Gibralt-

tar; to have kept your ships afloat, your rigging standing, and your crews in health and spirits, is an effort such as never was realized in former times, nor, I doubt, will ever again be repeated by any other admiral. You have protected us for two long years, and you have saved the West Indies by only a few days." Sir Alexander Ball, in sending his congratulations, made some judicious remarks on the intelligence by which the plan of Lord Nelson had been frustrated. "I think orders should be given, that when a fleet is discovered, an officer should be sent for, to witness it, and that one should be at the signal-hill at the rising and setting of the sun. I have often reflected on these circumstances, and on the little attention generally paid to them. In the affair of St. Lucia, is it not possible that a signal-man might be bribed?"

The gratitude of the crowning city and its mercantile princes soon repaid the noble spirit of Nelson for all his toil and disappointment; though, like a true Englishman, and with the inherent character of a seaman, he sometimes expressed himself as being irritated and displeased. The West India merchants, through their chairman, Sir R. Neave, Bart. were amongst the first, on the admiral's arrival in London, to express their unfeigned thanks, and high sense of his prompt determination in quitting the Mediterranean, and of his sagacity in judging of and ascertaining the course of the combined squadrons, and of his bold and unwearied pursuit of them to the West Indies, and back again to Europe; all of which had been very instrumental towards the safety of those colonies. His presence in the metropolis soon imparted additional vigour and firmness to the operations of government. Lord Barham, on receiving, as first lord of the Admiralty, Lord Nelson's journals, perused the whole narrative with an attention which enabled that minister to form a more complete idea of the admiral's professional character; and Lord Barham afterwards liberally declared, he had not before sufficiently appreciated such extraordinary talents. This opinion of the noble admiral's late proceedings was immediately communicated to the cabinet, with an assurance from Lord Barham, that an unbounded con-

fidence ought to be placed in Nelson ; who was above all others the officer to be employed on the station he had so ably watched, and whose political relations he had so thoroughly understood.

It had been the most anxious wish of Lord Nelson, when he applied for leave of absence on account of his health, prior to this run to the West Indies, to be again sent out to the command of a fleet, in which he was not only respected but beloved ; and this wish he had repeatedly expressed in his private letters, and in his official intercourse with the Sicilian^o government. The voice of the nation, and its rulers, accorded with this desire, and in a manner the most gratifying to his feelings. In some occasional interviews with Lord Barham at the Admiralty, he now expressed his readiness to obey the voice of his country, and pointed out various means by which additional effect might be given to the service on which he was about to be employed. He visited also the other departments of government, opened his mind without reserve or fear, and traced, with the decision and even authority of a statesman, the various plans that required immediate attention. He showed ministers the dangers to which they were particularly exposed in the Mediterranean, the errors which had too long been persisted in, and the events and changes that might be expected to take place in Europe, from the prevailing aspect of its political horizon. Amongst the last of his cautions was the following, which he also thus repeated to the Duke of Clarence : *If your royal highness has any communication with government, let not General Mack be employed ; for I knew him at Naples to be a rascal, a scoundrel, and a coward. . .* At many of these ministerial conferences, Admiral Sir R.G. Keats attended his friend ; who frequently appealed to him, particularly in their last interview with Mr. Pitt, for the truth of what he asserted, and also for further information on those subjects, of which the liberal mind of Nelson confessed that Keats had a greater knowledge than himself. The following letter, dated Merton, 24th of August, alludes to what had passed at one of those interviews. “ My dear Keats : Many

thanks for your kind letter ; nothing, I do assure you, could give me more pleasure than to have you at all times near me ; for, without a compliment, I believe your head is as judicious as your heart is brave, and neither, I believe, can be exceeded. *Yesterday, when with the secretary of state, a new minister, who has only sat one solitary day in his office, and of course knows but little of what has passed—indeed, ministers were all full of the enemy's fleet, and as I am now set up for a conjuror, God knows they will very soon find out I am far from being one—I was asked my opinion, against my inclination ; for if I make one wrong guess, the charm will be broken. But this I ventured without any fear, that if Calder got fairly close alongside their twenty-seven or twenty-eight sail, by the time the enemy had beat our fleet soundly, they would do us no further harm this year. The Duke of Clarence wrote to you from Merton, but when I see Lord Castlereagh I shall know positively what they mean to do. You see by my writing tackle that I am not yet mounted as a commander in chief.* At one of his last visits to the Admiralty previous to his leaving England, Lord Barham received the noble admiral in a manner that corresponded with the opinion he had delivered to ministers. The list of the British navy was given him, and he was desired to choose his own officers. Nelson immediately returned it “Choose yourself, my lord, the same spirit actuates the whole profession ; you cannot choose wrong.” Lord Barham then desired that the admiral would without reserve dictate to the private secretary, Mr. Thompson, such ships as he wished in addition to his present squadron, and that they should follow him at short intervals as soon as each was ready. *Have no scruple, Lord Nelson, there is my secretary, I will leave the room—give your orders to him, and rely on it they shall be implicitly obeyed by me.* And it was owing to this wise and liberal conduct of Lord Barham, that the Mediterranean fleet received constant reinforcements of ships, which, not sailing in a body, arrived without any information of them being received by the enemy.

Soon afterwards, towards the end of August, the honourable Captain Blackwood arrived with the news of the combined fleets being blocked up in Cadiz by Admiral Collingwood. On his way to London with the despatches, that officer, as he passed Lord Nelson's villa at Merton about five in the morning, called, and found him already up and dressed. On seeing Captain Blackwood, he exclaimed, *I am sure you bring me news of the French and Spanish fleets, and I think I shall yet have to beat them.* The answer was confined to giving, as briefly as possible, all the information of which Captain Blackwood was the bearer; and after expressing hopes that he should witness the intended drubbing, so well foretold, he left Merton for the Admiralty. Lord Nelson immediately followed, and soon afterwards joined him, when they talked over the operations that were intended on returning to the Mediterranean; and he frequently repeated, *Depend on it, Blackwood, I shall yet give Mr. Villeneuve a drubbing.*—Every thing was soon afterwards arranged for his return to the Mediterranean, and on the 3d of September he thus concluded a letter to the Right Hon. George Rose, to whom he had particularly recommended his brother-in-law Mr. Bolton. . . . “I hold myself ready to go forth whenever I am desired, although God knows I want rest: but self is entirely out of the question. I shall rejoice to see you on board the Victory, *if only for a moment*; but I shall certainly not be an advocate for being at Portsmouth, till one of the Victory's anchors is at the bows.”

Accordingly, on the night of Friday, September 13th, Lord Nelson having taken leave of his brother William, Lady Hamilton, and his friends who were at Merton, with a mind much agitated, pursued his route to Portsmouth—to serve, as he expresses it in his diary, his king and country. He seemed, from all his conversations with the Duke of Clarence and with Lord Sidmouth, to expect a desperate battle, and to think that he should never return. As he left Merton, his devout spirit offered up the following sublime prayer to the God of battles: *May the great God whom I adore, enable me to fulfil the*

expectations of my country ; and if it be his good pleasure that I should return, my thanks will never cease being offered up to the throne of his mercy. If it be his good providence to cut short my days upon earth, I bow with the greatest submission, relying that he will protect those so dear to me whom I may leave behind. His will be done.—Amen.

He arrived at the George Inn, Portsmouth, at six in the following morning, and having arranged every thing with his accustomed quickness, went to that part of the beach to embark for the Victory, where the bathing machines are placed. The scene is described as having been singularly affecting. He was followed by numbers of his countrymen in tears, many of whom knelt down before him, and blessed the beloved hero of the British nation. The affectionate heart of Nelson could not but sympathize with the great interest that was taken in his welfare, and, turning round to Captain Hardy, he said, *I had their huzzas before—I have their hearts now.* A fresh proof of the attachment of the common seamen to him had also appeared: the crew of the Superb, Captain Keats, which owing to her necessary repairs was not ready for sea, were heard to express their desire that they might be turned over to some ship in the harbour which was ready, in order to go back with their admiral to the Mediterranean. Mr. Rose and Mr. Canning accompanied Lord Nelson to his ship, and dined on board whilst the Victory was preparing to sail.—Extract of a letter from Lord Nelson to Alexander Davison, Esq. dated the Victory. “Day by day, my dear friend, I am expecting the fleet to put to sea—every day, hour, and moment ; and you may rely, that, if it is in the power of man to get at them, it shall be done ; and I am sure that all my brethren look to that day as the finish of our anxious cruise. The event no man can say exactly, but I must think, or render great injustice to those under me, that, let the battle be when it may, it will never have been surpassed. My shattered frame, if I survive that day, will require rest, and that is all I shall ask for. If I fall on such a glorious occasion, it shall be my pride to take care that my friends shall not blench for me. These things

are in the hands of a wise and just Providence, and his will be done. I have got some trifle, thank God, to leave to those I hold most dear, and I have taken care not to neglect it. Do not think I am low-spirited on this account, or fancy anything is to happen me; quite the contrary—my mind is calm, and I have only to think of destroying our inveterate foe. I have several frigates gone for more information, and we all hope for a meeting with the enemy. Nothing can be finer than the fleet under my command. Whatever be the event, believe me ever, my dear Davison, your much obliged and sincere friend, Nelson and Bronte.”—Lord Nelson weighed on the 15th, at daybreak, the *Euryalus*, Captain Blackwood, in company; but owing to a contrary wind, came to anchor again; they, however, by sunset were off Christchurch, and by the evening of the next day the Berry-head. His lordship’s perseverance in working down Channel against contrary and strong winds, is well known and appreciated. On the 17th, when off Plymouth, he sent in *Euryalus* to call out *Ajax* and *Thunderer*, and wrote the following letter to his early friend, Sir Andrew S. Hamond, Bart. comptroller of the navy. “My dear Sir Andrew: I have read with much attention your very interesting letter of the 12th, and rely that although you have been involved in transactions out of your strict line of duty, for the benefit of the naval service, you will pass the fiery ordeal without a singe. You have then a most undoubted right to retire from the fatigues of your laborious office, with such a pension, and marks of your sovereign’s approbation, as he may graciously be pleased to bestow. With respect to your petitioning for your rank on the list of admirals, I shall answer you, my dear Sir Andrew, to the best of my opinion; and if it should not meet exactly your ideas, yet I trust you will believe that no one has a higher opinion of your naval abilities as a captain, or admiral, than myself. If my memory serves me right, when you passed your flag, I expressed my regret that the service was to lose your experience at sea; you would long since have commanded the fleets of Britain, with the whole service looking up to your abilities. But with what you may deem prece-

dents, Lord Barham, Sir John Laforey, Lord Hood, Admiral Gambier, and lately Admiral Stirling—yet these gentlemen contended for their flags, without which, they said, “we will not hold our civil employments.” You allowed it to pass over. Your salary ought to be equal to your wishes, and much more in addition to your comptroller’s pension, than a half-admiral’s half-pay. But I fear, if the precedent were established, however properly in your person, that such a field would be opened for officers getting on the list of admirals, after being long out of service, that the ministry would never get clear of applications, nor would the service know who were likely to command them. Having given you, my dear Sir Andrew, my full opinion, allow me to say and to offer, that if the king is pleased to place you on the list of admirals, I shall be ready myself to serve as second under you for a given time; and to mark, at least in myself, that I receive you with open arms as a most valuable officer restored to us. With respect to your good son, you are sure of my affectionate attention to him; and believe me ever, my dear Sir Andrew, your most obliged and affectionate friend.” In writing to Sir J. T. Duckworth, whilst off the Eddystone, September 17th, Lord Nelson said, “I could not answer your kind letter of the 10th, as I was every moment engaged in settling my affairs both public and private. Perhaps this will not find you at Plymouth, for I know it was intended to offer you your flag as third in command in the Mediterranean fleet. I am aware, and said so at the Admiralty, that having served so long and so honourably as commander-in-chief, you might not wish to take an inferior station; but that if you did, it would give me most sincere pleasure to have you, and to profit by your skill and gallantry.”

After encountering much blowing weather, the *Victory* arrived off Cadiz on the 29th of September, the admiral’s birth-day, when the necessary orders were given out for the fleet: and what is remarkable, it was on the same day that Admiral Villeneuve, as he afterwards informed Captain Blackwood, received orders to put to sea on the first convenient

opportunity. From the 29th of Sept. to the 21st of October, Lord Nelson never came in sight of land, that the enemy might be kept in ignorance of his force: the wisdom of this conduct was strongly proved by subsequent events. Ville-neuve repeatedly declared his belief, that Lord Nelson, by detaching six sail of the line to the Mediterranean, had reduced the British fleet to one-third weaker than that of the enemy. In writing to General Fox at Gibraltar, the admiral requested that the publisher of the Gibraltar Gazette should be forbid to mention the force of the fleet, much less the names and strength of the ships; "for I much fear," added he, "that if the enemy know of our increased numbers, we shall never see them out of Cadiz. If my arrival is necessary to be mentioned, the ships with me need not, and it may be inserted that an equal number, or some ships of Admiral Collingwood's are ordered home. I rely upon your goodness to accord with my wishes." In the letter which he had forwarded to Admiral Collingwood, by the *Euryalus*, to announce the approach of the *Victory*, Nelson, then commander-in-chief, also said, "I send it, my dear Coll, that if you are in sight of Cadiz, not only no salute might take place, but also that no colours may be hoisted; for it is as well not to proclaim to the enemy every ship which may join the fleet. . . I would not have any salute, even if you are without sight of land."

To Sir John Acton, 30th of September. "My dear Sir John: After being only twenty-five days (from dinner to dinner) in England, I find myself again in the command of the Mediterranean fleet. I only hope that I may be able, in a small degree, to fulfil the expectations of my country. . . I hear the French have two or three sail of the line at Toulon, two frigates and a corvette; in England they have not the smallest idea of such a force. If it be so, they must send more ships; for although it is natural to look to the Russians to prevent those ships from doing any harm to the eastward of Toulon, yet I can answer for nothing but what is committed to the charge of English ships. I was so short a time in England, and only three times with the minister, that I hardly entered

into any business but my own. I hope both Austria and Russia have begun, and, if the war comes into Italy, I have proposed such a co-operation on the part of England, that I am confident three months may, if all parties are agreed, free Italy and Piedmont; but we must all put our shoulders to the wheel. The combined fleet in Cadiz is thirty-five or thirty-six sail of the line, and eight at Carthagea. I have twenty-three sail of the line, and six occasionally at Gibraltar, and to have an eye upon the ships at Carthagea. The French have made an exchange of an old French 74 for the Santa Anna, a Spanish first-rate. Be assured I am your excellency's most faithful friend."—To Sir A. Ball, 30th of Sept. "My dear Ball: I got fairly into the fleet yesterday, and under all circumstances I find them as perfect as could be expected... The force is at present not so large as might be wished, but I will do my best with it; they will give me more when they can, and I am not come forth to find difficulties, but to remove them. I know not a word of Sir James Craig or his troops, or what they are going about, except, as the man said of the parson, *he preached about doing good*, and so ministers talked of our troops doing good to the common cause; but I was so little a time in England, and not more than four times in London, that really I could hardly talk of anything seriously but naval matters."

Nelson's feelings on the subject of Sir Robert Calder's conduct appears particularly in the following letter to Lord Barham, dated 30th of Sept. "My dear Lord: I did not fail, immediately on my arrival, to deliver your message to Sir Robert Calder, and it will give your lordship pleasure to find, as it has me, that an inquiry is what the vice-admiral wishes, and that he had written to you by the Nautilus, which I detained, to say so. Sir Robert thinks that he can clearly prove it was not in his power to bring the combined squadrons again to battle. It would be only taking up your time, were I to enter more at large on all our conversation; but Sir Robert felt so much, even at the idea of being removed from his own ship which he commanded, in the face of the fleet,

that I much fear I shall incur the censure of the board of Admiralty, without your lordship's influence with the members of it. I may be thought wrong, as an officer, to disobey the orders of the Admiralty, by not insisting on Sir Robert Calder's quitting the Prince of Wales for the Dreadnought, and for parting with a 90-gun ship, before the force arrives which their lordships have judged necessary. But I trust that I shall be considered to have done right as a man, and to a brother officer in affliction—my heart could not stand it, and so the thing must rest. I shall submit to the wisdom of the board to censure me or not, as to them may seem best for the service : I shall bow with all due respect to their decision."

In a letter to Lady Hamilton, dated off Cadiz, Victory, Oct. 3, he described his reception on rejoining the Mediterranean fleet, as causing the sweetest sensation of his life : *The officers who came on board to welcome my return, forgot my rank as commander-in-chief, in the enthusiasm with which they greeted me. As soon as those emotions were past, I laid before them the plan I had previously arranged for attacking the enemy ; and it was not only my pleasure to find it generally approved, but clearly perceived and understood.* The enemy are still in port, but something must be immediately done, to provoke or lure them to a battle. My duty to my country demands it, and the hopes centered in me, I hope in God will be realized. In less than a fortnight expect to hear from me, or of me ; for who can foresee the fate of battle ? Put up your prayers for my success, and may God protect all my friends." Her ladyship received the preceding letter on the 24th of October, while witnessing the launch of the Ocean, man of war, at Woolwich. This plan had been drawn up by Lord Nelson during his pursuit of the French fleet to the West Indies, and contains the great principles of duty in a British admiral on coming to action with an enemy. On his return to England it had been perused by some of his ministerial friends, and generally admired, and a copy of it was deposited with Lord Barham at the Admiralty. As the result of deep reflection from so great an officer, who repeatedly led

our brave seamen to victory, and having been written when in pursuit of a superior force, which he had resolved not only to attack, but if possible to annihilate, its value to all professional men is inestimable; and to others it will afford considerable interest, as giving a view of the ideas which Lord Nelson entertained on resuming the Mediterranean command.*

* “The business of an English commander-in-chief being first to bring an enemy’s fleet to battle, on the most advantageous terms to himself, (I mean that of laying his ships close on board the enemy as expeditiously as possible,) and secondly, to continue them there without separating until the business is decided; I am sensible, beyond this object it is not necessary that I should say a word, being fully assured that the admirals and captains of the fleet I have the honour to command, will, knowing my precise object, that of a close and decisive battle, supply any deficiency in my not making signals; which may, if extended beyond these objects, either be misunderstood, or, if waited for, very probably, from various causes, be impossible for the commander-in-chief to make: therefore it will only be requisite for me to state in as few words as possible, the various modes in which it may be necessary for me to obtain my object, on which depends not only the honour and glory of our country, but possibly its safety, and with it that of all Europe, from French tyranny and oppression.

“If the two fleets are both willing to fight, but little manœuvring is necessary, the less the better, a day is soon lost in that business: therefore I will only suppose that the enemy’s fleet being to leeward, standing close upon a wind on the starboard tack, and that I am nearly ahead of them standing on the larboard tack, of course I should weather them. The weather must be supposed to be moderate; for if it be a gale of wind, the manœuvring of both fleets is but of little avail, and probably no decisive action would take place with the whole fleet. Two modes present themselves; one to stand on just out of gun-shot until the van-ship of my line would be about the centre ship of the enemy, then make the signal to wear together, then bear up, engage with all our force the six or five van-ships of the enemy, passing certainly, if opportunity offered, through their line. This would prevent their bearing up, and the action, from the known bravery and conduct of the admirals and captains, would certainly be decisive: the second or third rear-ships of the enemy would act as they please, and our ships would give a good account of them, should they persist in mixing with our ships.—The other mode would be, to stand under an easy but commanding sail directly for their headmost ship, so as to prevent the enemy from knowing whether I should pass to leeward or windward of him. In that situation, I would make the signal to engage the enemy to leeward, and to cut through their fleet about the sixth ship from the van, passing very close; they being on a wind and you going large, could cut their line when you please. The van-ships of the enemy would by the time

As the health of the Mediterranean fleet greatly depended on keeping the Moors in good humour, a letter had been addressed by the king to the emperor of Morocco, with the valuable presents that were sent out. The differences with the Dey of Algiers had been adjusted, and as his highness's life had been placed in imminent danger, from one of those convulsions so common in the Barbary states, the admiral sent the following congratulatory letter, from off Cadiz: "I think your highness," said Lord Nelson, "will be glad to hear of my return to the command of his majesty's fleets in the Mediterranean: and I rely that nothing will ever be permitted to happen which can interrupt the most perfect harmony and good understanding which exists between your highness and the regency, and the British nation. I am confident that your highness will give orders for the most friendly reception of British ships in all the ports in your dominions, and that they shall be furnished, for their money, with every article they may want to purchase. I shall be very anxious for the return of the frigate, that I may know the state of your highness's health; and I beg that your highness will be assured of the most high esteem of—Nelson and Bronte."

our rear came abreast of the van-ship, be severely cut up, and our van could not expect to escape damage:

"I would then have our *rear* ship, and every ship in succession, wear, continue the action with either the van-ship or second ship, as it might appear most eligible from her crippled state; and this mode pursued, I see nothing to prevent the capture of the five or six ships of the enemy's van. The two or three ships of the enemy's rear must either bear up, or wear; and, in either case, although they would be in a better plight probably than our two van-ships (now the rear,) yet they would be separated, and at a distance to leeward so as to give our ships time to refit; and by that time, I believe, the battle would, from the judgment of the admiral and captains, be over with the rest of them. Signals from these moments are useless, when every man is disposed to do his duty. The great object is for us to support each other, and to keep close to the enemy, and to leeward of him.

"If the enemy are running away, then the only signals necessary will be, to engage the enemy as arriving up with them; and the other ships to pass on for the second, third, &c. giving if possible a close fire into the enemy in passing taking care to give our ships engaged notice of your intention."

CHAP. XII.

THE COMBINED FLEET APPEAR—THE ENGLISH PREPARE FOR BATTLE—PLAN OF ATTACK—
BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR—DEATH OF NELSON—VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD SUCCEEDS
TO THE COMMAND—HIS DESPATCHES—NELSON'S REMAINS CONVEYED TO ENGLAND, AND
HONOURED WITH A PUBLIC FUNERAL—ACCOUNT OF THE PROCESSION TO ST. PAUL'S—
REFLECTIONS ON THE CHARACTER OF NELSON—1805-1806.

ON the 23d of June, Vice-Admiral Collingwood directed Rear-Admiral Louis, to blockade Cadiz and San Lucar, to prevent provision vessels from entering the ports of Ayamonte and Maguer, but to respect the licenses of British merchants resident in Spain to import merchandise into their own country. On these points Lord Nelson wrote as follows, to Lord Castlereagh, on the 1st of October.—“My Lord: The far greater part of the combined fleets is in the harbour, and indeed none can be called in the bay of Cadiz; they lie in such a position abreast of the town, and many entirely open over the narrow strip of land, that Congreve's rockets, if they will go one mile and a half, must do execution. Even should no ships be burnt, yet it would make Cadiz so very disagreeable, that they would rather risk an action than remain in port. I do assure your lordship, that myself and many thousands in the fleet will feel under the greatest obligations to Colonel Congreve. But I think, with your lordship's assistance, we have a better chance of forcing them out by want of provisions: it is said hunger will break through stone walls—ours is only a wall of wood. The French are sending provisions of all kinds from Nantz, Bourdeaux, and other ports in the Bay, in Danish vessels, called of course Danish property, to Ayamonte, Conil, Algeziras, and other little ports from Cape St. Mary's to Algeziras; whence it would be conveyed in their coasting boats

without the smallest interruption to Cadiz, and thus the fleets be supplied with provisions for any expedition. Vice-Admiral Collingwood has most properly directed their being detained and sent to Gibraltar, to be libelled in the vice-court of admiralty. I have followed so good an example: I am able enough to see the propriety and necessity of the measure, without which the blockade of Cadiz is nugatory, and we should only have the odium of the measure, without any benefit to us, or real distress to our enemies. There never was a place so proper to be blockaded at this moment as Cadiz. I have, therefore, to request that your lordship will take the proper measures, that the officers under my orders may not get into any pecuniary scrape by their obedience; and, should it be thought proper to allow the enemy's fleet to be victualled, that I may be informed as soon as possible. . . . I can have nothing, as an admiral, to say upon the propriety of granting licenses; but from what your lordship told me of the intentions of ministers respecting the neutral trade, it strikes me, some day it may be urged that it was not for the sake of blockade, but for the purpose of taking all the trade into her own hands, that Great Britain excluded the neutrals. Your lordship's wisdom will readily conceive all that neutral courts may urge at this apparent injustice, and of might overcoming right."

The Honourable Captain Blackwood had received orders from Rear-Admiral Louis, commanding the advanced squadron off Cadiz, dated the 29th of September, to take such a station in the *Euryalus* frigate off that harbour, as from circumstances of wind and weather might be best adapted for watching the motions of the enemy's fleet, and preventing vessels from entering or coming out unperceived. He had also been directed to take his majesty's ship *Hydra*, Captain George Mundy, under his orders. The report made to Lord Nelson by Admiral Louis, on the first of October, was, that thirty-four ships of the line, (eighteen French and sixteen Spanish) with four frigates and two brigs, were ready for sea in the outer harbour of Cadiz; and on the next day, October 2d, Captain Blackwood sent his lordship word, "That within the

last few days there had been a great deal of bustle and movement in Cadiz; every one capable of serving had been sent on board the ships, and the French troops, disembarked on their arrival, had been reimbarbed." Lord Nelson replied on the 4th, "I am momentarily expecting the *Phœbe*, Hon. T. B. Capell; *Sirius*, Captain Prowse; *Naiad*, Captain T. Dundas; and *Niger*, Captain J. Hillyer, from Gibraltar, two of which shall be with you directly. If you can meet them, and there be any way of sending information and their despatches, keep *Naiad* and *Phœbe*. *Juno*, Captain H. Richardson, is a fixture between Capes Trafalgar and Spartel. *Mars*, *Colossus*, and *Defence* will be stationed four leagues east from the fleet, and one of them advanced to the east towards Cadiz, and as near as possible in that latitude. The fleet will be from sixteen to eighteen leagues west of Cadiz; therefore if you throw a frigate west from you, most probably in fine weather we shall daily communicate. In fresh breezes easterly, I shall work up for Cadiz, never getting to the northward of it; and, in the event of hearing they are standing out of Cadiz, carry a press of sail to the southward towards Cape Spartel and Arache. I am writing regular instructions for the guidance of the frigates; but I am confident these gentry will not slip through our fingers, and that we shall give a good account of them, although they may be superior in numbers."

It is no less extraordinary than true, that a want of frigates and small vessels had been the general complaint of all commanders of large fleets from the American war to the present day. Lord Nelson uniformly represented this evil to the different members of the cabinet, but without removing it. On the 5th of October, in writing to Lord Castlereagh, he touches on this subject—"I have only two frigates to watch them, and not one with the fleet. I am most exceedingly anxious for more *eyes*, and hope the Admiralty are hastening them to me. The last fleet was lost to me for want of frigates, God forbid this should." When writing on the same day to Lord Barham, the admiral did not fail to call his attention to the same defect in the Mediterranean fleet—"My dear Lord:

The French and Spanish ships have taken the troops on board, which had been landed on their arrival, and it is said that they mean to sail the first fresh Levant wind; and as the Carthagena ships are ready, and when seen a few days ago had their topsail-yards hoisted up, it looks like a junction. The position I have taken for this month is from sixteen to eighteen leagues west of Cadiz; for although it is most desirable that the fleet should be well up in the easterly winds, yet I must guard against being caught with a westerly wind near Cadiz, as a fleet of ships with so many three-deckers would inevitably be forced into the Straits, and then Cadiz would be perfectly free for the enemy to come out with a westerly wind, as they served Lord Keith in the late war. I am most anxious for the arrival of frigates; less than eight, with the brigs, &c. as we settled, I find are absolutely inadequate for this service, and to be with the fleet. And Capes Spartel, Cantin, or Blanco, and the Salvages, must be watched by fast-sailing vessels, in case any squadron should escape. I have been obliged to send six sail of the line to water and get stores at Tetuan and Gibraltar, for if I did not begin, I should be very soon obliged to take the whole fleet into the Straits. I have twenty-three sail with me, and should they come out we shall immediately bring them to battle. But although I should not doubt of spoiling any voyage they may attempt, yet I hope for the arrival of the ships from England, that as an enemy's fleet they may be annihilated. Your lordship may rely upon every exertion."

The admiral on the same day, the 5th of October, sent the Pickle schooner, Lieutenant J. Lapenotiere, to Captain Blackwood, to assist him for a few days on the look-out: "Perhaps," added Lord Nelson, "with an easterly wind you could anchor a frigate between Cadiz and the Pedro Shoals, taking care that she did not anchor until two hours after dark, and that she weighed two hours before day." On the morning of the 6th all remained quiet at Cadiz; and the Pickle schooner rendered an essential service, by capturing a Portuguese settee with a cargo of bullocks from Tangier, said to be bound

to Villa Real, that was endeavouring with a fresh breeze at east to work into Cadiz. This acceptable cargo was sent by Captain Blackwood to Lord Nelson; who on the same day, in writing to the secretary of the Admiralty, again expressed his anxiety *for the arrival of the promised frigates*. . . "I am sorry ever to trouble their lordships with anything like a complaint of a want of frigates and sloops; but if the different services require them, and I have them not, those services must be neglected to be performed. I am taking all the frigates about me I possibly can; for if I were an angel, and attending to all the other points of my command, let the enemy escape for want of the *eyes of the fleet*, I should consider myself as most highly reprehensible. Never less than eight frigates, and three good fast-sailing brigs, should always be with the fleet to watch Cadiz; and to carry transports in and out to refit it, would take at least ten and four brigs, to do that service well. At present I have only been able to collect two, which makes me very uneasy." *Ships*, said Lord Nelson afterwards, *are, I see, wanted everywhere, but the watching of the fleet in Cadiz is my first object.*

"We shall have these fellows out at last, my dear lord (said Admiral Collingwood when writing on the 6th.) I firmly believe they have discovered that they cannot be subsisted in Cadiz; their supply from France is completely cut off. . . And now, my lord, I will give you my ideas: if the enemy are to sail with an easterly wind, they are not bound to the Mediterranean, and your lordship may depend on it, the Carthagenan squadron is intended to join them. If they effect that, and with a strong easterly wind they may, they will present themselves to us with forty sail. Should Louis, by any good fortune, fall in with the Carthagenan squadron, I am sure he would turn them to leeward, for they would expect the whole fleet was after them. Whenever the Carthagenan people were expected, they opened the lighthouse."

Every day now brought fresh reason to expect, that before it was over, the enemy would put to sea; the anxiety of every

officer was surpassed by what the admiral endured: "I verily believe," said he on the 6th in writing to Mr. Rose, "that the country will soon be put to some expense on my account, either a monument, or a new pension and honours; for I have not the smallest doubt but that a very few days, almost hours, will put us in battle. The success, no man can insure; but for the fighting them, if they are to be got at, I pledge myself; and I am *very, very, very* anxious for the arrival of the force intended; for the thing will be done if a few more days elapse, and I want, for the sake of our country, that it should be done so effectually, as to have nothing to wish for: and what will signify the force, the day after the battle? It is, as Mr. Pitt knows, annihilation that the country wants, and not merely a splendid victory of twenty-three to thirty-six!—honourable to the parties concerned, but absolutely useless, in the extended scale, to bring Buonaparte to his marrow-bones. Numbers can only annihilate. I think not for myself, but my country." Throughout the whole day, and frequently the night, did this great officer give his unwearied attention to the complicated objects which his command at that critical moment more particularly embraced. His mind was everywhere, passing with a rapidity scarcely human throughout every circumstance of duty, and forming with accuracy a just conception of the intentions of the enemy: *You may rely on it*, said he, *they will come out, and fight, if forced to battle.* He never went to his short and disturbed rest, without providing for the contingencies of the night: "With this swell," wrote he on the 6th to Admiral Collingwood, "I think we had better, at half-past four or five o'clock, make the signal for all boats to repair on board; and to keep the wind under three topsails and foresail for the night, and direct the ships with the transports in tow to keep to windward: this clear night we need not mind the order of sailing, even if we want to wear in the night. Should the swell get up before the evening, telegraph me without ceremony, and the boats shall be hoisted in, and we will make sail." *With the business of such a fleet*, observed he to Mr. Elliot, *I am not very idle; therefore, if I only write*

what is most interesting for you to know, you must excuse the other kind of writing.

The French at that time, at Toulon, had one ship of the line ready for sea, another fitting, and a ship had been launched at Genoa. They had also three frigates, and three corvettes which had been at Algiers, and were then cruising on the coast of France and Genoa, and towards Leghorn. The Eurydice, Captain Hoste, was employed looking out under Cape St. Mary's to intercept the enemy's victuallers coming from the bay; and a fast-sailing frigate or sloop, as soon as the proper number of ships arrived, was intended to be sent off Cape Cantin, and also off the Salvages, in case any squadron of the enemy should escape from Cadiz. On the 7th of October the Amphion, Captain J. Sutton, joined with a transport from Lisbon, and a letter from Lord Strangford; and the Naiad and Niger frigates, with transports from Gibraltar. On the next day the Eurydice, Captain W. Hoste, captured a Spanish privateer. On the 8th of October the Phœbe frigate and Weazel, Captain Peter Parker, joined Captain Blackwood, but Captain Parker was only detained to convey intelligence to Lord Nelson. The 8th was the first day, since Captain Blackwood had been stationed off the harbour's mouth, that his detachment enjoyed a sufficiently commanding breeze to reconnoitre the enemy's force. It was found to consist of thirty-four sail of the line, three of which were three-decked ships, with five frigates, one corvette, and three brigs. Six admiral's flags were flying. The French ships had their top-gallant yards up, and sails bent. The Pickle was immediately sent with this intelligence to the fleet. In writing to the Hon. Brigadier-General Stewart, on that day, Lord Nelson said, "I have thirty-six sail of the line looking me in the face; unfortunately there is a strip of land between us, but it is believed they will come to sea in a few days. The sooner the better, I don't like to have these things upon my mind; and if I see my way through the fiery ordeal, I shall go home and rest for the winter, and shall rejoice to take you, my dear Stewart, by the hand. Some day or other, that Buonaparte,

if he lives, will attempt the invasion and conquest of Great Britain. The making our volunteers and militia soldiers, was a wise plan, and we were very near having occasion to use them. Good Captain Hardy is still with me. Believe me ever your most sincere and faithful friend."

When Admiral Louis, with the regular allotment of ships, Canopus, Spencer, Queen, Tiger, and Zealous, had been sent to Gibraltar to procure a supply of water, Captain George Duff,* of the Mars, succeeded to the command of the advanced squadron, for the time; consisting of his own ship, with the Defence, Captain George Hope, the Colossus, Captain J. N. Morris, and the Ajax, Captain W. Browne. On the 4th of October the admiral had sent the following directions to Captain Duff: "As the enemy's fleets may be hourly expected to put to sea from Cadiz, I have to desire that you will keep, with the Mars, Defence, and Colossus, from three to four leagues between the fleet and Cadiz, in order that I may get the information from the frigates stationed off that port, as expeditiously as possible. Distant signals to be used, when flags, from the state of the weather, may not readily be distinguished in their colours. If the enemy be out, or coming out, fire guns by day, or night, in order to draw my attention. In thick weather, the ships are to close within signal of the Victory: one of the ships to be placed to windward, or rather to the eastward of the other two, to extend the distance of seeing; and I have desired Captain Blackwood to throw a frigate to the westward of Cadiz, for the purpose of an easy and early communication."—Captain Duff, in writing to his wife, October 8th, thus spoke of Lord Nelson: He certainly is the pleasantest admiral I ever served under. He is so good a man, that we all wish to do what he likes without any kind of orders. I have been employed for this week past to paint the ship after the Nelson mode, which most of the fleet are doing." On the 9th, according to the admiral's diary, he sent the

* Captain Duff had two sons in the action, one aged twelve and the other about fifteen years. Early in the contest, the first had both his legs shot away; soon after, the second fell; and lastly the father himself was added to the list of slain.

Nelson mode* to his friend Collingwood; and such were the high spirits and good humour that prevailed throughout the fleet, then daily expecting a desperate battle with a superior force, that their evenings were often spent in attending the theatrical performances which were exhibited in almost every ship. These performances kept up the cheerfulness and health of the men, and generally concluded a quarter before eight o'clock with "God save the King."

On the 9th of October, Lord Nelson, then nineteen leagues from Cadiz, in writing to the captain of the *Euryalus*, said, "Let us have them out, my dear Blackwood. Agamemnon, Belleisle, and Superb, and very probably London, are this moment on their passage; therefore if Mr. Decrès (it was not then known for certain that Villeneuve commanded) means to come forth, if he would take my advice, which I dare say he will not, he had better come out directly. They who know more of Cadiz than you or I do, say that after these levanters come several days of fine weather, westerly winds, fine sea-breezes, and a land-wind at night; and that if the enemy are bound into the Mediterranean, they would come out in the night, which they have always done, placing lights on the Porpoises and the Diamond and the shoal off Cadiz, run to the southward and catch the sea-breeze off the mouth of the Gut, and push through, whilst we might have little wind in the offing. In short, watch all points, and all winds and weathers. Remember me to Capel, Parker, Mundy, and Captain Prowse."

To Admiral Collingwood, October 9th. — "My dear Coll, Blackwood will have five frigates and a brig; they surely cannot escape us. I shall be glad to see you mounted in the Royal Sovereign; but change at your leisure. You will admire her as a far better ship than the Victory. I had rather that all the ships burnt a blue light, or false fire; for it must often happen that the cause of wearing is a change of wind, and often a very confused sea; and a ship may be very anxious from various

* The ships painted as usual with two yellow streaks, but the port-holes black, which gave them an appearance of being chequered.

circumstances to be assured that her neighbour astern has wore, as the line from the above circumstances would be entirely broken: it is perfectly understood that unless in very fine weather, or extraordinary circumstances, the fleet will not be directed to wear in succession. We have found the comfort of blue lights and false fires in the Mediterranean, where the wind changes so often. I send you my plan of attack, as far as man dare venture to guess at the very uncertain position the enemy may be found in. But, my dear friend, it is to place you perfectly at ease respecting my intentions, and to give full scope to your judgment for carrying them into effect: we can, my dear Coll, have no little jealousies. We have only one great object in view, that of annihilating our enemies, and getting a glorious peace for our country. No man has more confidence in another than I have in you, and no man will render your services more justice than your very old friend—Nelson and Bronte.”

It is impossible to read this letter without giving its noble writer the tribute of a tear—without remembering that the hand which wrote it was in a few days cold in death: but it was the death he wished for, it was the sleep in which the brave have delighted to rest. The following is the plan of attack which was inclosed.—“Victory, off Cadiz, October 9th. Thinking it almost impossible to bring a fleet of forty sail of the line into a line of battle, in variable winds, thick weather, and other circumstances which must occur, without such a waste of time that the opportunity would probably be lost, of bringing the enemy to battle in such a manner as to make the business decisive; I have therefore made up my mind to keep the fleet in that position of sailing, with the exception of the first and second in command, that the order of sailing is to be the order of battle: placing the fleet in two lines of sixteen ships each, with an advanced squadron of eight of the fastest sailing two-decked ships, which will always make, if wanted, a line of twenty-four sail on whichever line the commander-in-chief may direct. The second in command will, after my intentions are made known to him, have the entire direction of his line

to make the attack upon the enemy, and to follow up the blow until they are captured or destroyed.

“If the enemy’s fleet should be seen to windward in line of battle, and that the two lines and the advanced squadron could fetch them, they will probably be so extended that their van could not succour their rear: I should therefore, probably, make the second in command’s signal to lead through about their twelfth ship from their rear, or wherever he could fetch, if not able to get so far advanced. My line would lead through about their centre; and the advanced squadron to cut two, or three, or four ships ahead of their centre, so as to insure getting at their commander-in-chief, whom every effort should be made to capture. The whole impression of the British fleet must be to overpower from two or three ships ahead of their commander-in-chief, supposed to be in the centre, to the rear of their fleet. I will suppose twenty sail of the enemy’s line to be untouched: it must be some time before they could perform a manœuvre, to bring their force compact to attack any part of the British fleet engaged, or to succour their own ships, which indeed would be impossible without mixing with the ships engaged. *The enemy’s fleet is supposed to consist of forty-six sail of the line, British fleet of forty. If either be less, only a proportionate number of enemy’s ships are to be cut off: British to be one-fourth superior to the enemy cut off.*

“Something must be left to chance; nothing is sure in a sea-fight, beyond all others. Shot will carry away the masts and yards of friends as well as foes. But I look with confidence to a victory before the van of the enemy could succour their rear; and then, that the British fleet would most of them be ready to receive their twenty sail of the line, or to pursue them, should they endeavour to make off. If the van of the enemy tacks, the captured ships must run to leeward of the British fleet; if the enemy wears, the British must place themselves between the enemy and the captured and disabled British ships; and should the enemy close, I have no fears as to the result.

“The second in command will, in all possible things, direct

the movements of his line, by keeping them as compact as the nature of circumstances will admit. Captains are to look to their particular line as their rallying point; but, in case signals can neither be seen nor perfectly understood, no captain can do very wrong, if he places his ship alongside that of an enemy.

“ The divisions of the British fleet will be brought nearly within gunshot of the enemy's centre; the signal would, most probably, then be made for the lee line to bear up together, to set all their sails, even steering sails, in order to get as quickly as possible to the enemy's line, and to cut through, beginning at the twelfth ship from the enemy's rear: some ships may not get through their exact place, but they would always be at hand to assist their friends; and if any are thrown round the rear of the enemy, they would effectually complete the business of 12 sail of the enemy. Should the enemy wear together, or bear up and sail large, still the 12 ships, composing in the first position the enemy's rear, are to be the object of attack of the lee line, unless otherwise directed from the commander-in-chief; which is scarcely to be expected, as the entire management of the lee line after the intentions of the commander-in-chief are signified, is intended to be left to the judgment of the admiral commanding that line.

“ The remainder of the enemy's fleet, 34 sail, are to be left to the management of the commander-in-chief, who will endeavour to take care that the movements of the second in command are as little interrupted as is possible.”

The combined fleets, on the 10th of October, were close to the Porpoises and Diamond Rock at Cadiz, and almost out of the harbour, and everything tended to confirm Lord Nelson in his opinion, that their destination was the Mediterranean. On that day he issued some standing orders, consisting of his last fourteen directions to the fleet, copies of which were passed from ship to ship in the lee and weather line, to be signed by every captain, and returned to the Victory. They show his uniform attention to the health of the seamen, and

his great economy of government stores. The twelfth was consonant with the prevailing humanity of his character:—"It is my particular directions, that the name and family of every officer, seaman, and marine, who may be killed or wounded in action with the enemy, on board any of his majesty's ships and vessels under my command, is returned to me as soon after the circumstance happens as the service will admit of, agreeably to the annexed form; in order that I may transmit it to the chairman of the Patriotic Fund at Lloyd's Coffee House, that the case of the relations of those who fall in the cause of their country may be taken into consideration." The different divisions of the fleet were also instructed by one of these orders to bear the white, or St. George's ensign, being his own colours, in order to prevent confusion from a variety of flags, and to hoist union-jacks at the foretop-gallant-stay of each ship, as a distinction.

On the same day, 10th of Oct., he wrote again to his second in command: "My dear Coll, the enemy's fleet is all but out of the harbour; perhaps this night with the northerly wind they come forth, and with the westerly sea-breeze to-morrow go into the Mediterranean. If the weather is fine, and we have plenty of drift, I shall lay-to all night." To Captain Blackwood, 10th of October. "Let me, my dear Blackwood, know every movement. I rely that we cannot miss getting hold of them, and I will give them such a shaking as they never yet experienced, *at least I will lay down my life in the attempt.* We are a very powerful fleet, and not to be had cheap. I have told Parker (of the Weasel) and do you direct, that ships bringing information of their coming out, are to fire guns every five minutes by the watch, and in the night to fire rockets, if they have them, from the mast-head. I have nothing more to say; they will, I hope, sail to-night. Cadiz, east 13 leagues, six A.M."

During the ensuing night, it blew so strong at n.w. that the enemy could not venture to cast their ships loose; and their continuing thus in port, rendered the situation of the blockading fleet very critical; as Lord Nelson had been led

to think, by a letter from Admiral Young, that if the enemy did not soon sail, he might reasonably expect the Brest fleet: *I must therefore*, observed he in writing to that officer, *try and annihilate them before the Cadiz fleet can join.* On the next day, 11th of October, he described the manner in which he had stationed his ships, in a letter to Sir A. Ball: "I have five frigates, a brig, and a schooner, watching them closely, an advanced squadron of fast-sailing ships between me and the frigates, and the body of the fleet from fifteen to eighteen leagues west of Cadiz. I am aware there will be moments when it might be wished we were closer; but I have considered all possible circumstances, and believe there will often be times, in strong gales of westerly wind, when we may even wish ourselves farther off, as we shall be in danger of being driven into the Mediterranean: when, if they choose to go westward, they will have no interruption. However, whether I am right or wrong, I act from the best of my judgment. Admiral Murray is in England, settling the affairs of his father-in-law, lately dead: he might have had his flag, if he pleased, in this fleet. Hardy is much recovered. I have pressed the necessity of two sail of the line, two frigates, and two sloops, to scour the Mediterranean from Toulon, Genoa, &c. &c. and to preserve Sardinia—round the southern end of it to Toulon again, as a fixture. For Malta, and the convoys to the Adriatic, &c. one small frigate, four good sloops of war, and the four vessels commanded by lieutenants." Again, when writing a second letter, on the same day, to Sir Alexander, "You will see, my dear Ball, from the tenour of the letter addressed to you, that I have had much communication with his majesty's ministers upon the subject of preventing Sardinia from falling into the hands of the French... I wish that we should have a great weight in the Mediterranean; and although I have made a very considerable impression on the minds of Mr. Pitt, Lords Mulgrave and Castlereagh, of the very great importance of fixing ourselves in the Mediterranean, yet perhaps that may wear off by absence. However, I must

say, they received all my little knowledge with much attention."

Lord Nelson daily found the advantage of the station he had determined to keep, sixteen or eighteen leagues to the westward of Cadiz; for although it was possible that the combined fleets might get a few leagues before him into the Mediterranean, yet that could not be put in competition with the chance of the British fleet being driven through the Straits. He ardently wished that some of his ships could have been changed for others, whose rate of sailing was better. He knew that the enemy must ere long move from Cadiz, and might not volunteer an action. *I own*, said he to Lord Barham, *I long for faster-sailing ships, and, if not three-deckers, two alongside an enemy are better than three-deckers a great way off*. As the day of the battle approached, the convulsions of the continent increased, and the danger that threatened Great Britain from the Brest and Rochefort squadrons, consequently became more considerable. The continent, as he informed Admiral Louis, was in motion, Austria had marched into Bavaria, and the Russians were in Germany. Hanover was evacuated, and it was thought Prussia would join the coalition. The Rochefort squadron was not only out, but had taken the Calcutta and most of her convoy of South-sea whalers, and had chased very hard both the Agamemnon,* Sir E. Berry, and L'Aimable, honourable D. P. Bouverie, on their passage to the fleet; and it was by no means thought improbable by Lord Nelson, that the Rochefort squadron might

* The Agamemnon, or, as she was humorously styled by the seamen, the "old eggs and bacon," was wrecked when under the command of Captain Rose in Maldonado Bay, in the river Plate. This happened on the 20th of June, 1809. Many of Nelson's hard tars were still on board of her; and I well remember witnessing the distress pictured on many a furrowed countenance, as they were compelled to quit a ship so powerfully endeared to them by old associations. The address of Captain Rose, previously to their being distributed amongst the fleet (under Admiral de Courcy), drew tears from many an eye that had looked undismayed at danger, even when death appeared inevitable.—"The Old Sailor."



Painted by Port

Engraved by "Hans"

SIR JOHN FRANKLIN CAPT. R.N.

John Franklin

get to the southward, and enter the Mediterranean. The fleet was at this time very short of men, and the crews of the respective ships had in consequence a greater portion of labour to undergo. Their health, however, continued as remarkable, as the general cordiality and cheerfulness that prevailed.

The weather on the 14th of October became more favourable, and the only apprehension was, lest the enemy's ships from being so much crowded at the harbour's mouth, might have suffered in the late gales, and be in consequence detained. The *Amphion*, to which Captain Hoste had been lately appointed, was on that day sent to Gibraltar, and thence to Algiers with presents to the new Dey, who had succeeded on the death of the former one, and with a complimentary letter from the admiral. On the 14th Lord Nelson made the following arrangement of his ships. The *Defence* and *Agamemnon* were on that day placed from seven to eight leagues west from Cadiz, and the *Mars* and *Colossus* five leagues east from the main body of the fleet, "whose station," adds the admiral in his diary, "will be from fifteen leagues to twenty west of Cadiz, and by this chain I hope to have a constant communication with the frigates off Cadiz."—To Captain Blackwood, 14th of October. "You will be speedily supported in case of an attempt to drive you off, I should like amazingly to see them try it. I approve most highly of your care of the *Diligent* storeship, and thank you for your notice about the *Salvages*, which shall be inserted. Sir Richard Strachan was actually in scent of the French squadron; I wish he were stronger, but I am sure he will spoil their cruising." Nelson's Diary continues the account of his proceedings to the morning of the twenty-first. "Wednesday, 16th of October, moderate breezes, westerly. All the forenoon employed in forming the fleet into the order of sailing. At noon fresh breezes w.s.w. and squally, in the evening fresh gales. Enemy as before, by signal from the *Weasel*, Captain Peter Parker. October 17th. Moderate breezes, n.w. sent Donegal to Gibraltar to get a ground-tier of casks. Received accounts by the *Diligent* storeship, that Sir Richard Strachan was supposed in sight of

the French Rochefort squadron, which I hope is true. At midnight the wind came to the eastward. October 18th. Fine weather, wind easterly, the combined fleets cannot have finer weather to put to sea. October 19th. Fine weather, wind easterly. At half-past nine, the Mars, Capt. G. Duff, being one of the look-out ships, repeated the signal, *that the enemy was coming out of port**—made the signal for a general chase s.e. Wind at south, Cadiz bearing E. N. E. by compass, distant sixteen leagues. At three the Colossus, Capt. J. N. Morris, made the signal, *that the enemy's fleet was at sea*. In the evening directed the fleet to observe my motions during the night, and for Britannia, Admiral Lord Northesk, Captain C. Bullen; Prince, Captain R. Grindall; and Dreadnought, Captain John Conn, they being heavy sailers, to take their stations as convenient; and for Mars, Orion, Hon. E. Codrington,† Belleisle, Captain Sir W. Hargood, Leviathan, Captain J. W. Bayntun, Bellerophon, Captain John Cooke, and Polyphemus, Captain R. Redmill, to go ahead during the night, and to carry a light, standing for the Straits' mouth. Sunday, 20th of October. Fresh breezes s. s. w. and rainy: communicated with Phoebe, Honourable T. B. Capel, Defence, Captain G. Hope, and Colossus, who had seen near forty sail of ships of war outside of Cadiz yesterday evening; but the wind being southerly, they could not get to the mouth of the Straits; we were between Trafalgar and Cape Spartel. The frigates made the signal that they saw nine sail outside of the harbour—gave the frigates instructions for their guidance, and placed Defence, Colossus, and Mars between me and the frigates. At noon fresh gales and heavy rain—Cadiz N.E. nine leagues. In the afternoon Blackwood telegraphed, that the enemy seemed determined to go to the westward; and that they shall not do, if in the power of Nelson to prevent them. At five telegraphed

* Blackwood being stationed off the harbour's mouth, first telegraphed the enemy's being at sea.

† Afterwards Admiral Sir W. Hargood. He died at Bath, on the 12th of December, 1839.

‡ Sir John Franklin, the arctic voyager, was signal-midshipman on this ship. Of forty of his companions on the poop, only seven survived the action.

Blackwood, that I relied upon his keeping sight of the enemy. At five, Naiad (Captain T. Dundas) made the signal for thirty-one sail of the enemy N. N. E. The frigates and look-out ships kept sight of the enemy most admirably all night, and told me by signals which tack they were upon. At eight P. M. we wore, and stood to the S. W., and at four A. M. wore and stood to the N. E."

We now come to the great and terrible day of the battle; when, as it has been so well expressed,* "God gave us victory, but Nelson died." He felt that the twenty-first was the last day of his bright career, that it had been a memorable day in his family, and he accordingly prepared to die, that his country might be defended from the inveterate enemies of the civilized world. He knew that his ship would be the particular object of their fury, and that it was hardly possible he could go through the fiery ordeal in safety. He passed the night, as he had formerly done that before the battle of Copenhagen, and his rest was short and interrupted. On the break of day, he thus committed the justice of his cause, and his own safety, to the overruling providence of God.—"*May the great God whom I worship, grant to my country, and for the benefit of Europe in general, a great and glorious victory; and may no misconduct in any one tarnish it; and may humanity, after victory, be the predominant feature in the British fleet. For myself individually, I commit my life to him who made me, and may his blessing light upon my endeavours for serving my country faithfully. To him I resign myself, and the just cause which is entrusted me to defend. Amen.*"

He put on his *fighting coat* which he had so often worn on the day of victory, and which he kept with a degree of veneration, but omitted to wear the sword, so much regarded, which

* *Lines written by His Grace the Duke of Devonshire on the Battle of Trafalgar.*

Oft had Britannia sought, 'midst dire alarms,
Divine protection for her sons in arms:
Gen'rous and brave, but not from vices free,
Britons from Heaven received a mix'd decree;
To crown their valour, yet to check their pride,
God gave them victory—but NELSON died.

had belonged to Captain M. Suckling. The various splendid honours he had received from different nations, were plainly worked upon it, and the star of the order of the Bath, which he had always worn with a peculiar pleasure, as the free gift of his sovereign, he resolved should appear in the battle, and be nearest his heart when he fell. *In honour*, he exclaimed, *I gained them, and in honour I will die with them.* On leaving his cabin he went over the different decks, spoke to and encouraged his men with his usual affability, and saw that the preparation for battle was complete throughout the ship. As he ascended the quarter-deck ladder, he was greeted with three cheers.

Captain Blackwood's memoir contains the following interesting account of the conversation he had with Lord Nelson on that morning. "At six o'clock on the morning of the 21st, my signal was made to repair on board the Victory. In a few minutes I went on board, and had the satisfaction to find the admiral in good, but very calm spirits. After receiving my congratulations at the approach of the moment he so often and so long had wished for, he replied, *I mean to-day to bleed the captains of the frigates, as I shall keep you on board until the very last minute.* His mind seemed entirely directed to the strength and formation of the enemy's line, as well as to the effects which his novel mode of attack was likely to produce. He seemed very much to regret, and with reason, that the enemy tacked to the northward, and formed their line on the larboard instead of the starboard tack; which latter line of bearing would have kept the Straits' mouth open. Instead of which, by forming to the northward, they brought the shoals of Trafalgar and St. Pedro, under our lee; and also, with the existing wind, kept open the port of Cadiz, which was of infinite consequence to them. This movement was in a great degree the cause of Lord Nelson's making the signal to prepare to anchor, the necessity of which was impressed on his mind to the last moment of his life: and so much did he think of the possibility of the enemy's escape into Cadiz, that he desired me to employ the frigates, as much as I could, to

complete the destruction of the enemy, whether at anchor or not ; and not to think of saving ships or men, for annihilation to both was his first object, and capture but a secondary one. During the five hours and a half that I remained on board the Victory, in which I was not ten times from his side, he frequently asked me, *what I should consider as a victory?* the certainty of which he never for an instant seemed to doubt, although from the situation of the land he questioned the possibility of the subsequent preservation of the prizes. My answer was, "That considering the handsome way in which the battle was offered by the enemy, their apparent determination for a fair trial of strength, and the proximity of the land, I thought if fourteen ships were captured it would be a glorious result;" to which he always replied, *I shall not, Blackwood, be satisfied with any thing short of twenty.* A telegraphic signal had been made by him, to denote *that he intended to break through the rear of the enemy's line, to prevent their getting into Cadiz.* "I was walking with him," continues Captain Blackwood, "on the poop, when he said, 'I'll now amuse the fleet with a signal;' and he asked me, 'if I did not think there was one yet wanting?' I answered, that I thought the whole of the fleet seemed very clearly to understand what they were about, and to vie with each other who should first get nearest to the Victory or Royal Sovereign. These words were scarcely uttered, when his last well-known signal was made, ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN WILL DO HIS DUTY. The shout with which it was received throughout the fleet was truly sublime. Now, said Lord Nelson, *I can do no more. We must trust to the great Disposer of all events, and the justice of our cause. I thank God for this great opportunity of doing my duty.*"

The wind was light from the s.w. and a long swell was setting into the bay of Cadiz, so that our ships, like sovereigns of the ocean, moved majestically before it ; every one crowding all the sail that was possible, and falling into her station according to her rate of going. The enemy wore at about seven o'clock, and then stood in a close line on the larboard tack towards Cadiz ; at that time the sun shone bright on their

sails, and from the number of three-deckers among them, they made a most formidable appearance ; but this so far from appalling our brave countrymen, induced them to observe to each other, *What a fine sight those ships would make at Spithead !*

Admiral Villeneuve, who was worthy of a better master, on receiving his orders to put to sea, had called a council of war ; when it had been determined, on knowing Lord Nelson commanded the fleet, that they should not leave Cadiz unless they had cause to believe they were one-third stronger than the British force. From Lord Nelson's keeping out of sight, and their knowing at Cadiz of the detachment of six sail of the line to the Mediterranean, Villeneuve put to sea confident of success : an American gentleman had declared, that Lord Nelson could not be with the British fleet, as he had been seen only a few days before in London. There were also, it is said, some personal motives which induced Villeneuve to leave Cadiz contrary to the opinion of the Spaniards. His conduct in the action with Sir Robert Calder, had been severely animadverted upon at Paris : Buonaparte had made known his disposition towards him, and the friends of this unfortunate officer had given him intimation, that he would shortly be superseded by Admiral Rosilly, then actually on his road to take the command. "About ten o'clock," continues Captain Blackwood, "Lord Nelson's anxiety to close with the enemy became very apparent : he frequently remarked to Blackwood, that they put a good face upon it ; but always quickly added, *I'll give them such a dressing as they never had before*, regretting at the same time the vicinity of the land. At that critical moment I ventured to represent to his lordship, the value of such a life as his, and particularly in the present battle ; and I proposed hoisting his flag in the Euryalus, whence he could better see what was going on, as well as what to order in case of necessity. But he would not hear of it, and gave as his reason the force of example, and probably he was right. My next object, therefore, was to endeavour to induce his lordship to allow the Temeraire, Neptune, and Leviathan to lead into action before the Victory, which was then the headmost. After much

conversation, in which I ventured to give it as the joint opinion of Captain Hardy and myself, how advantageous it would be to the fleet for his lordship to keep as long as possible out of the battle, he at length consented to allow the *Temeraire*,* which was then sailing abreast of the *Victory*, to go ahead, and hailed Captain E. Harvey to say such were his intentions, if the *Temeraire* could pass the *Victory*. Captain Harvey being rather out of hail, his lordship sent me to communicate his wishes, which I did; when, on returning to the *Victory*, I found him doing all he could to increase rather than diminish sail, so that the *Temeraire* could not pass the *Victory*: consequently when they came within gun-shot of the enemy, Captain Harvey, finding his efforts ineffectual, was obliged to take his station astern of the admiral."

The combined fleet, commanded by Admiral Villeneuve in the *Bucentaur*, consisted of thirty-three powerful ships, eighteen of which were French, and fifteen Spanish: amongst the latter was Nelson's old antagonist, the *Santissima Trinidad* of 140 guns, besides two of 112 guns, one of 100 guns, six of eighty-four and eighty, and the remainder seventy-fours of a large class, together with seven frigates of heavy metal, forty-four and forty guns each, besides other smaller vessels. The Spaniards were commanded by Admiral Gravina, who had under him Vice-Admiral Don J. D'Aliva, and Rear-Admiral Don B. H. Cisneros. Villeneuve had under him Rear-Admirals Dumanoir and Magon. Four thousand troops were embarked on board the fleet, under the command of General Contamin in the *Bucentaur*, amongst whom were several of the most skilful sharp-shooters that could be selected, and many Tyrolese riflemen: various sorts of combustibles and fire-balls were also embarked, as had been their practice in the battle of the Nile. The Spaniards appeared with their heads to the northward, and formed their line of battle with great closeness and correctness; and as the mode of attack by

* One of the sailors of the *Temeraire* carried the English Jack round his neck on board one of the enemy's ships, and planted it in the room of that of the enemy.

Nelson was unusual, so the structure of their line was new. It formed a crescent convexing to leeward, and Admiral Collingwood, in leading down to the centre, had both the van and rear of the enemy abaft his beam. In a private letter that appeared from an officer of the *Bellerophon*, it was observed, "The enemy formed a close and well-imagined, though until now unexampled order of battle; and which, had their plan of defence been as well executed as it was contrived, would have rendered our victory much more dearly bought than it was: they were formed in a double line, thus

1 2 3
4 5 6

French and Spaniards alternately, and it was their intention on our breaking the line astern of No. 4, (which manœuvre they expected we should as usual put into execution,) for No. 2 to make sail: that the British ship in hauling up should fall on board of her, whilst No. 5 should bear up and rake her, and No. 1 bring her broadside to bear on her starboard bow. This manœuvre only succeeded with *Tonnant* and *Bellerophon*, which were amongst the ships that suffered most." Before their fire therefore opened, every alternate ship was about a cable's length to windward of her second ahead and astern, forming a kind of double line; and appeared, when on their beam, to leave a very little interval between them, and this without crowding their ships, Admiral Villeneuve was on board the *Bucentaur*, eighty guns, in the centre, and the *Prince of Austrias* bore Gravina's flag in the rear; but the French and Spanish ships were mixed without any apparent regard to national order. Nelson, in the *Victory*, bore down at the head of the weather column, and Collingwood in the *Royal Sovereign* at the head of the lee.

"Of the *Victory* and *Royal Sovereign*," observes Captain Blackwood, "it would be impossible to decide which achieved the most. They both, in my opinion, seemed to vie with each other in holding forth a brilliant example to the rest of the fleet. They were literally in themselves a host. Admiral Villeneuve assured me, that on seeing the novel mode of attack

intended to be made on the combined fleet, and which at that moment, he confessed, he could not in any way prevent; he called the officers of his ship around him, and pointing out the manner in which the first and second in command of the British fleet were each leading his column, he exclaimed, *Nothing but victory can attend such gallant conduct.* When Lord Nelson found the shot pass over the Victory, he desired Captain Prowse of the Sirius and myself, to go on board our ships,* and in our way to tell all the captains of line-of-battle ships, that he depended on their exertions; and that, if, by the mode of attack prescribed, they found it impracticable to get into action immediately, they might adopt whatever they thought best, provided it led them quickly and closely alongside an enemy. He then again desired me to go away; and as we were standing on the front of the poop, I took his hand, and said, "I trust, my lord, that on my return to the Victory, which will be as soon as possible, I shall find your lordship well, and in possession of twenty prizes." On which he made this reply, *God bless you, Blackwood, I shall never speak to you again."*

* Previous to this, Captain Blackwood had witnessed, with Captain Hardy, by Lord Nelson's desire, the following singular codicil to his will, in which the services of Lady Hamilton to her country, during her continuance at the court of Naples, are recommended to the attention of government. October 21st, 1805, in sight of the combined fleets of France and Spain, distant about ten miles, "Whereas the eminent services of Emma Hamilton, widow of the Right Hon. Sir W. Hamilton, have been of the very greatest service to our king and country, to my knowledge, without her receiving any reward from either our king or country: first, that she obtained the king of Spain's letter in 1796, to his brother, the king of Naples, acquainting him of his intentions to declare war against England: from which letter the ministry sent out orders to the then Sir J. Jervis, to strike a stroke, if opportunity offered, against either the arsenals of Spain, or her fleets: that neither of these was done, is not the fault of Lady Hamilton; the opportunity might have been offered. Secondly, the British fleet under my command, could never have returned the second time to Egypt, had not Lady Hamilton's influence with the queen of Naples caused letters to be written to the governor of Syracuse, that he was to encourage the fleet being supplied with everything, should they put into any port in Sicily: we put into Syracuse, and received every supply—went to Egypt, and destroyed the French fleet! Could I have rewarded

The two columns of the British fleet, led on by their gallant chiefs, continued to advance, with light airs and all sails set, towards the van and centre of the enemy, whose line extended about N.N.E. and S.S.W. In order to cut off any possibility of the enemy's escape into Cadiz, Nelson's column was steered about two points more to the north than that of Admiral Collingwood, owing to which the leading ships of the lee-line were the first engaged. The Royal Sovereign and her line of battle steered for the centre. At half-past eleven, the enemy began firing on the Royal Sovereign, *See*, exclaimed Nelson, *see how that noble fellow Collingwood carries his ship into action!* In ten minutes afterwards the Royal Sovereign opened her fire, and cut through the enemy's line astern of the Spanish ship Santa Anna, 112 guns, engaging her at the muzzle of her guns on the starboard side; when, being delighted at having first got into action, Collingwood turning to his captain, said, *Rotherham,* what would Nelson give to be here!* The following ships of the lee-line vied with each other in following so daring an example, Mars, George Duff; Belleisle, William Hargood; Tonnant, Charles Tyler; Bel-lerophon, John Cooke; Colossus, J. N. Morris; Achille, Richard King; Polyphemus, Robert Redmill; Revenge,

these services, I would not now call upon my country, but as that has not been in my power, I leave Emma Lady Hamilton therefore a legacy to my king and country, that they will give her an ample provision to maintain her rank in life. I also leave to the beneficence of my country my adopted daughter Horatia Nelson Thompson, and I desire that she will use in future the name of Nelson only: these are the only favours I ask of my king and country at this moment, when I am going to fight their battle. May God bless my king and country, and all those I hold dear—my relations it is needless to mention: they will, of course, be amply provided for.—NELSON & BRONTE.

Witnesses: Henry Blackwood, T. M. Hardy.—The preceding was duly proved in Doctors' Commons.

* Admiral Collingwood's gallantry was most ably seconded by his captain, Rotherham, of whom the following anecdote, so descriptive of his character, has been related. A heavy shower of musketry had nearly swept the quarter-deck of the Royal Sovereign, when some of his officers earnestly requested him not to expose himself so much to the enemy's sharp-shooters, by wearing a gold-laced hat, and appearing in his epaulets.—*Let me alone*, replied Rotherham, *I have always fought in a cocked hat, and always will."*

Richard Moorsom; Swiftsure, W. G. Rutherford; Defence, George Hope; Thunderer, Lieutenant J. Stockham, acting; Defiance, P. C. Durham; Prince, Richard Grindall; Dreadnought, John Conn.—The weather column, led on by Nelson, had in the mean while advanced towards the enemy's van; flags had been hoisted on different parts of the Victory's rigging by his orders, lest a shot should carry away her ensign. It is an extraordinary fact, and which has been well attested, that the enemy did not hoist any colours, at least not until very late in the action. The Santissima Trinidad and Bucen-taur are described as having been the ninth and tenth ships; but as the enemy's admirals did not show their flags, the former ship was only distinguished from the rest by having four decks; and to the bow of this formidable opponent, Nelson now ordered the Victory to be steered. The enemy at first displayed considerable coolness; and, as the Victory approached, such of their ships as were ahead of her and across her bows, at fifty minutes past eleven began frequently to fire single guns, in order to ascertain whether she was within range, when a shot having passed through the main-top-gallant sail of the Victory, they opened a tremendous fire. The coolness that was preserved by his crew; was noticed with much satisfaction by Nelson, and he declared that in all his battles he had seen nothing that could surpass it. The Victory had lost about 20 men killed, and 30 wounded, before she returned a shot: her mizen topmast and all her studding sails and their booms on both sides had been shot away, when at four minutes past twelve, she opened her larboard guns on the enemy's van. Captain Hardy soon afterwards informed the admiral, that it would be impossible to break through the enemy's line, without running on board one of their ships, and begged to know which he would prefer—*Take your choice, Hardy,* replied he, *it does not much signify which.* The tiller ropes of the Victory being afterwards shot away, she ran on board the Redoubtable, which coming alongside fired a broadside into the Victory, and immediately let down her lower-deck ports; which was done

to prevent her from being boarded through them by the Victory's crew; nor were they again opened. A few minutes after this, the Temeraire fell likewise on board of the Redoubtable, on the side opposite to the Victory, having also an enemy's ship on board of her on her other side: so that the extraordinary and unprecedented circumstance occurred here, of four ships of the line being on board of each other in the heat of battle, forming as compact a tier as if they had been moored together, their heads all lying the same way. The Victory then passing astern of the Bucentaur, hauled up on her starboard side, and pouring in a dreadful broadside, stood for the admiral's old opponent, the Santissima Trinidad; playing her larboard guns on both ships, whilst the starboard guns of the middle and lower decks were depressed, and fired with a diminished charge of powder and three shot each, into the Redoubtable. "This mode of firing," says Mr. Beatty, "was adopted by Lieutenants Williams, King, Yule, and Browne, to obviate the danger of the Temeraire's suffering from the Victory's shot passing through the Redoubtable, which must have been the case, if the usual quantity of powder and the common elevation had been given to the guns. A circumstance occurred in this situation, which showed in a most striking manner the cool intrepidity of the officers and men stationed on the lower deck of the Victory. When the guns on that deck were run out, their muzzles came into contact with the Redoubtable's side, and at every discharge there was reason to fear that the enemy's ship would take fire, and both the Victory and the Temeraire be involved in her flames. The fireman of each gun stood ready with a bucket full of water, which as soon as his gun was discharged, he dashed into the French ship through the holes made in her side by the shot." —The remaining ships of Nelson's column, after the Temeraire, which pressed forward to his support, were the Neptune, T. F. Freemantle; Conqueror, Israel Pellew; Leviathan, H. W. Bayntun; Ajax, Lieutenant J. Pilfold, acting; Orion, Edward Codrington; Agamemnon, Sir Edward Berry; Minotaur, C. J. M. Mansfield; Spartiate, Sir F.

Laforey ; Britannia, Rear-Admiral Earl of Northesk, Captain Charles Bullen ; Africa, Henry Digby.—Owing to the judicious mode of attack which Nelson had adopted, his fast-sailing ships, like sharp-shooters in an army, had half joined the battle before the slow-sailing ones came up to their support, which as a corps of reserve soon determined the day. Had he delayed to form his line, and had proportioned the way made by the bad sailing ships in the fleet, they would have fired at a distance for a considerable time, and the enemy might have had a drawn battle by escaping into Cadiz. What the genius of Nelson so ably planned, the British fleet fully executed. The superiority of their seamanship was very manifest throughout the action ; for the enemy's fleet, by keeping with the wind nearly on their beam, lay in a trough of the sea and rolled considerably, so that one broadside passed over, and the next fell short of their opponents.

In the first heat of the action, Mr. Scott, the admiral's secretary, was killed by a cannon-ball whilst in conversation with Captain Hardy, and near to Lord Nelson. Captain Adair of the marines, who soon afterwards fell, endeavoured to remove the mangled body, but it had attracted the notice of the admiral—*Is that poor Scott,* said he, *who is gone?* Afterwards, whilst he was conversing with Captain Hardy on the quarter-deck, during the shower of musket-balls and raking fire that was kept up by the enemy, a double-headed shot came across the poop, and killed eight of the marines. Captain Adair was then directed by him to disperse his men round the ship. In a few minutes, a shot struck the fore-brace bits on the quarter-deck, and, passing between Lord Nelson and Captain Hardy, drove some splinters from the bits about them, and bruised Captain Hardy's foot. They mutually looked at each other, when Nelson, whom no danger could affect, smiled and said, *This is too warm work, Hardy, to last.* The Redoubtable had for some time commenced a heavy fire of musketry from her tops, which, like those of the enemy's other ships, were filled with riflemen. The Victory, however, became enveloped in smoke, except at intervals when it

partially dispersed, and, owing to the want of wind, was surrounded with the enemy's ships. At fifteen minutes past one, and a quarter of an hour before the Redoubtable struck, Lord Nelson and Captain Hardy were observed to be walking near the middle of the quarter-deck: the admiral had just commended the manner in which one of his ships near him was fought. Captain Hardy advanced from him, to give some necessary directions; and he was in the act of turning near the hatchway, with his face towards the stern, when a musket-ball struck him on the left shoulder, and, entering through the epaulet, passed through the spine, and lodged in the muscles of the back, towards the right side. Nelson instantly fell with his face on the deck,* in the very place that was covered with the blood of his secretary, Mr. Scott. Captain Hardy, on turning round, saw the sergeant of marines, Secker, with two seamen, raising him from the deck: *Hardy*, said his lordship, *I believe they have done it at last, my backbone is shot through.*

Some of the crew immediately bore the admiral to the cockpit, and several wounded officers, and about 40 men, were carried below at the same time, amongst whom were Lieutenant Ram and Mr. Whipple, captain's clerk, both of whom died soon afterwards. Whilst the seamen were conveying Lord Nelson down the ladder from the middle deck, he observed that the tiller-ropes had not been replaced, and desired one of the midshipmen to remind Captain Hardy of it, and to request that new ones should be immediately rove. He then covered his face and stars with his handkerchief, that he might be less observed by his men. He was met at the foot of the cockpit ladder by Mr. Walter Burke the purser,†

* A piece of the mast of the Victory, before which Nelson fell, has been consecrated to his memory by the Duke of Clarence in a Naval Temple at Bushey, which also contains a bust of the admiral.

† This gallant and amiable man entered the naval service under the auspices of his illustrious relative, the right hon. Edmund Burke, and after thirty years of active service concluded his public career on the memorable 21st of October, 1805. The unfortunate but brave Captain Burke, of the Seagull, with a younger brother, (both of whom perished when that

who with the assistance of a marine supporting his legs, with some difficulty conveyed him over the bodies of the wounded and dying men, for the cockpit was extremely crowded, and placed him on a pallet in the midshipmen's berth, on the larboard side. Surgeon (afterwards Sir William) Beatty* was then called, and very soon afterwards the Rev. Mr. Scott attended; and his lordship's clothes were taken off, that the direction of the ball might be the better ascertained. *You can be of no use to me, Beatty,* said Lord Nelson; *go and attend to those whose lives can be preserved.* When the surgeon had executed his melancholy office, had expressed the general feeling that prevailed on the occasion, and had again been urged by the admiral to go and attend to his duty, he reluctantly obeyed, but continued to return at intervals. As the blood flowed internally from the wound, the lower cavity of the body gradually filled; Lord Nelson therefore constantly desired Burke to raise him, and, complaining of an excessive thirst, was supplied by Scott with lemonade. In this state of suffering, with nothing but havoc, and death, and misery around him, the spirit of Nelson remained unsubdued. His mind continued intent on the great object that was always before him, his duty to his country; he therefore anxiously inquired for Captain Hardy, to know whether the annihilation of the enemy might be depended on; but it was upwards of an hour before that officer could at so critical a moment leave the deck, and Lord Nelson became apprehensive that his brave associate was dead. The crew of the Victory were now heard to cheer, and he

ship foundered) were sons of his, and also the heroic Lieutenant Burke, of the Mars, who was mortally wounded in cutting out the Cheverette. Mr. Burke was much esteemed in private life, for social qualities, and gentlemanly habits; and died much lamented in his neighbourhood, at Wouldham, near Rochester, on the 22nd of September, 1815, in the 76th year of his age.

* "Sir William Beatty was subsequently appointed physician to Greenwich Hospital. On the resignation of his appointment in the year 1839, he retired to Germany to recruit his health, and there fixed his permanent abode. Sir William was Nelson's surgeon on board the Victory at Trafalgar, and afforded all the assistance that man could render to that naval hero."

anxiously demanded the cause, when Lieutenant Pasco, who lay wounded near him, said that one of their opponents had struck. A gleam of joy lighted up the countenance of Nelson; and as the crew repeated their cheers, and marked the progress of his victory, his satisfaction visibly increased. *Will no one,* exclaimed he, *bring Hardy to me? He must be killed, I am certain he is dead.* Mr. Bulkley, the captain's aid-de-camp, then came below, and in a low voice communicated to the surgeon the particular circumstances respecting the fleet which had detained Captain Hardy, but that he would take the first moment that offered to leave the deck. The excessive heat of the cockpit, from the numbers of the dead and wounded, increased the faintness of the dying admiral, and his sight became dim: *Who brought the message?* said he feebly. "Bulkley, my lord," replied Burke, *It is his voice,* said Nelson; *remember me, Bulkley, to your father.* Captain Hardy soon afterwards came down from the deck, and anxiously strove to conceal the feelings with which he had been struggling. *How goes the day with us, Hardy?* "Ten ships, my lord, have struck." *But none of ours, I hope.* "There is no fear, my dear lord, of that. Five of their van have tacked, and show an intention of bearing down upon us; but I have called some of our fresh ships round the Victory, and have no doubt of your complete success." Having said this, he found himself unable any longer to suppress the yearnings of a brave and affectionate heart, and hurried away for a time, to conceal the bitterness of his sorrow.

The firing continued, and the cheers of the men were occasionally heard amidst its repeated peals. With a wish to support his spirits, that were in some degree shaken by having seen the friend he so sincerely regarded, and from the increased pain under which he had to endure the agonies of excessive thirst, and the great difficulty of respiration, Burke said, "I still hope, my lord, you will carry this glorious news home." *Don't talk nonsense,* replied the admiral; *one would, indeed, like to live a little longer, but I know it to be impossible: God's will be done. I have performed my duty, and I*



devoutly thank Him for it. A wounded seaman was lying near him on a pallet, waiting for amputation, and in the bustle that prevailed was hurt by some person passing by; Nelson, weak as he was, indignantly turned his head, and with his usual authority reprimanded the man for not having more humanity. Some time afterwards he was again visited by the surgeon: *I find*, said he, *something rising in my breast, which tells me I shall soon be gone. God be praised that I have done my duty. My pain is so severe, that I devoutly wish to be released.*

A most spirited and continued fire had been kept up from the Victory's starboard guns on the Redoubtable, for about fifteen minutes after Lord Nelson was wounded; in which time Captain Adair and about eighteen seamen and marines were killed, and Lieutenant Bligh, Mr. Palmer, midshipman, and twenty seamen and marines were wounded, by the enemy's musketry alone. Lord Nelson did not allow of any small-arms in the tops of the Victory, from the danger of setting fire to the sails. The Redoubtable had been twice on fire in her fore-chains and on the fore-castle, and by throwing some combustibles had set fire to the Victory; the alarm was given, which reached to the cockpit, yet neither hurry nor trepidation appeared, and the crew having put out the flames, immediately turned their attention to the Redoubtable, and rendered her all the assistance in their power. On the colours of that ship being struck, and no possibility of boarding her appearing from the state of ruin of both ships, and the closing of the enemy's ports, some seamen immediately volunteered their services to Lieutenant Quillam, to jump overboard, and, by swimming under the bows of the Redoubtable, to endeavour to secure the prize; but Captain Hardy thought the lives of such men too valuable to be risked by so desperate an attempt. Afterwards, when the firing from the Victory had in some measure ceased, and the glorious result of the day was accomplished, Captain Hardy immediately visited the dying chief, and reported the entire number that had struck: *God be praised, Hardy! bring the fleet to an anchor.* The

delicacy of Captain Hardy's situation, from there being no captain of the fleet, was peculiarly embarrassing; and, with as much feeling as the subject would admit of, he hinted at the command devolving on Admiral Collingwood. Nelson feeling the vast importance of the fleet being brought to anchor, and with the ruling passion of his soul predominant in death, replied, somewhat indignantly, *Not whilst I live, I hope, Hardy*; and vainly endeavouring, at the moment, to raise himself on the pallet, *Do you, said he, bring the fleet to anchor.* Captain Hardy was returning to the deck, when the admiral called him back, and begged him to come near. Lord Nelson then delivered his last injunctions, which were, that his hair might be cut off, and given to Lady Hamilton, and that his body might be carried home to be buried, unless his sovereign should otherwise desire it, by the bones of his father and mother. He then took Captain Hardy by the hand, and observing, that he would most probably not see him again alive, the dying hero desired his brave associate to kiss him, that he might seal their long friendship with that affection which pledged sincerity in death.

"Upon these words I came and cheered him up,
He smiled me in the face ———
So did he turn, and over Suffolk's neck
He threw his wounded arm, *and kissed his lips*;
And so, espoused to death, with blood he sealed
A testament of noble ending love."*

Captain Hardy stood for a few minutes over the body of him he so truly regarded, in silent agony, and then kneeling down again kissed his forehead: *Who is that?* said the dying hero. "It is Hardy, my lord." *God bless you, Hardy*, replied Nelson feebly, and afterwards added, *I wish I had not left the deck, I shall soon be gone*; his voice then gradually became inarticulate, with an evident increase of pain: when, after a feeble struggle, these last words were distinctly heard, I HAVE DONE MY DUTY, I PRAISE GOD FOR IT. Having said this, he turned his face towards Burke, on whose arm he had been supported, and expired without a groan.

* Henry V., Act. iv.

The following account was afterwards transmitted by request, by Admiral Collingwood, to the Duke of Clarence: "Most gracious Prince, the loss which your royal highness and myself have sustained in the death of Lord Nelson, can only be truly estimated by those who had the happiness of sharing his friendship: he had all the qualities that adorn the human heart; and a head, which for quickness of perception, and depth of penetration, qualified him for the highest offices of his profession. But why am I making these observations to your royal highness, who knew him? Because I cannot speak of him but to do him honour.

"Your royal highness desires to know the particular circumstances of his death. I have seen Captain Hardy but for a few minutes since, and understood from him, that at the time the Victory continued very closely engaged in rather a crowd of ships, Lord Nelson was commending some ship that appeared to be conducted much to his satisfaction, when a musket-ball struck him on the left shoulder; Captain Hardy immediately hastened to support him. He smiled, and said, *Hardy, I believe they have done it at last.* He was carried below; and when the ship was disengaged from the crowd, he sent an officer—to inform me he was wounded. I asked the officer if his wound was dangerous? He hesitated; but I saw the fate of my friend in his eye, his look said what his tongue could not give utterance to. About an hour afterwards, when the action was over, Captain Hardy brought me the melancholy account of his death. He inquired frequently how the battle went, and expressed joy when he heard the enemy were striking; in his last moments showing an anxiety for the glory of his country, regardless of what related to his person.

"I cannot express how great my gratitude is to your royal highness, for the high honour done me by your letter, congratulating me on the success of his majesty's fleet against his enemies. This instance of condescension and mark of your royal highness's kindness to one of the most humble, but one of the most faithful of his majesty's servants, is deeply engraven in my heart; and it will ever be considered as my great hap-

piness to have merited your royal highness's approbation, of which this sword, which your royal highness has presented to me, is a testimony so highly honourable. I beg your royal highness will accept my thanks; with the assurance that, whenever his majesty's service demands it, I will use it in the support of our country's honour and the advancement of his glory."

The battle had been sorely contested, and the slaughter on board the enemy almost unprecedented; in the British fleet 423 were killed, and 1064 wounded, many of whom died afterwards. The ships that pressed forward after their gallant chiefs in the weather and lee columns, are described by Admiral Collingwood, as breaking through in all parts astern of their leaders, and engaging the enemy at the muzzles of their guns:* "The conflict," adds he, "was severe; the enemy's ships were fought with a gallantry highly honourable to their officers; but the attack on them was irresistible, and it pleased the Almighty Disposer of all events to grant his majesty's arms a complete and glorious victory. About three P.M., many of the enemy's ships having struck their colours, their line gave way; Admiral Gravina, with the ships joining their frigates to leeward, stood towards Cadiz. The five headmost ships in their van tacked, and standing to the southward, to windward of the British line, were engaged, and the sternmost of them taken; the others went off, leaving to his majesty's squadron nineteen ships of the line (of which two are first-rates, the Santissima Trinidad and the Santa Anna), with three flag-officers, viz., Admiral Villeneuve, the commander-in-chief, Don Ignatio Maria d'Aliva, vice-admiral, and

* In the Gibraltar Chronicle, dated Nov. 9, (1805), it was observed, "We do not recollect any general action where so many of our ships ran on board those of the enemy; no less than five of the French captured ships were engaged so closely, that the muzzles of our lower-deck guns touched those of the enemy. And it is worthy of remark, that in every instance where this occurred, the Frenchmen immediately lowered their ports, and deserted their guns on that deck; whilst our seamen, on the contrary, were deliberately loading and firing their guns with two and often with three round shot, which soon reduced the enemy's ships to a perfect wreck."

the Spanish rear-admiral, Don Baltazar Hidalgo Cisneros. After such a victory, it is unnecessary to enter into encomiums on the particular parts taken by the several commanders: the spirit which animated all was the same. When all exert themselves zealously in their country's service, all deserve that their high merits should stand recorded, and never was high merit more conspicuous than in the battle of Trafalgar. The *Achille*, a French seventy-four, by some mismanagement of the Frenchmen after her surrender, took fire and blew up; 200 of her men were saved by the tenders and by the *Pickle* schooner. . . Such a battle could not be fought without sustaining a great loss of men.

“The Royal Sovereign having lost her mast, except the tottering foremast, I called the *Euryalus* to me, while the action continued, which ship lying within hail made my signals—a service Captain Blackwood* performed with great attention. After the action I shifted my flag to her, that I might more easily communicate my orders to, and collect the ships, and tow the Royal Sovereign out to seaward. The whole fleet were now in a very perilous situation; many dismasted, all shattered, in thirteen fathom water, off the shoals of Trafalgar; and when I made the signal to prepare to anchor, few of the ships had an anchor to let go, their cables being shot. But the same good Providence which aided us through such a day, preserved us in the night by the wind shifting a few points and drifting the ships off the land, except four of the captured dismasted ships, which are now at anchor off Trafalgar.”

A striking difference was observed between the gallantry of the Spanish naval officers and the conduct of the French, both in respect to their professional courage and general humanity towards our countrymen, in consequence of the heavy gale that came on after the action. The Spaniards, throughout the battle, showed a more uniform firmness and

* Captain Blackwood went in his boat through the fire of both fleets to obtain intelligence of Lord Nelson's safety; and arrived in the cockpit of the *Victory* as he was breathing his last.

spirit than the French; and though the Castilian character was afterwards disgraced by the falsehoods and gross absurdities, which, through French influence, were published at Cadiz, the following facts display a love of glory and a liberality, more in unison with the general feelings of the nation. Amongst their ships, the Argonauta and Bahama were defended to the last extremity, each of them having about 400 men killed or wounded. The San Juan Nepomuceno was also fought with the most determined valour, until her captain and 350 of her crew were killed or wounded. The Principe d' Asturias and Santa Anna showed also considerable gallantry. Every English seaman who afterwards was cast on their coast was treated in the noblest manner. They refused, as they declared, "to consider any of the brave English as prisoners of war, who had already suffered so severely from the violence of the storm." Every exertion had been made to save their lives during the violence of the tempest, and the Spanish soldiers left their beds to accommodate the British seamen who were shipwrecked. *Though Nelson, they said, had been the ruin of the Spanish navy, we sincerely lament his fall—he was the most generous enemy and the greatest commander of the age.*

The French, on the contrary, displayed a dishonourable, revengeful, and mendacious character.* Admiral Dumanoir† had been the first to fly; and in the rancour and disappointment of a coward's heart, fired into many of the Spanish ships as he passed them. On the surrender of the Bucentaur, an officer with 100 seamen was sent to take possession; she afterwards during the storm drove towards Cadiz; the French rose, regained possession of their ship, and endeavoured to carry her into Cadiz; their endeavours were ineffectual—the

* The Moniteur, the official paper of the French government, stated, "That the battle of Trafalgar lasted three days and three nights, that several ships of both fleets were destroyed, and that the remainder of the combined squadron had stood away to sea, to repair their damages.

† Afterwards taken, with his detachment, on the 4th of November, 1805, by Sir R. Strachan.

ship was stranded and completely wrecked. The party of English, with the crew, were taken from the wreck, and carried on board a French frigate, where they were treated in their unarmed and exhausted state with every species of insult and inhumanity.

The zeal of our officers and seamen, which had displayed during this battle such astonishing instances of valour, became if possible, still more praiseworthy by the humanity that was shown to their Spanish and French prisoners during the subsequent tempest. Amongst these, the exertions of Captain Malcolm of the Donegal, an officer of whom Lord Nelson had the highest opinion, were very conspicuous. When the French prisoners (who had been intoxicated with brandy to give them a false and uncertain courage) had in a state of desperation cut the cables of the Berwick, one of the prizes, and she in consequence had driven towards the dangerous shoals of St. Lucar, Captain Malcolm immediately ordered his own cables to be cut, that the boats of the Donegal might immediately render every assistance that was possible. His boats were accordingly got out at a considerable risk, with orders to bring on board all the wounded Frenchmen, before they removed the English: the Frenchmen were conveyed in safety on board the Donegal; but before the boats could again return, the Berwick struck on the rocks, and every soul on board perished.

Never was a day of victory so entirely turned into a day of sorrow and of great mourning, as that which records the triumph and the death of Nelson. When the loss of their beloved commander was known throughout the fleet, a general depression prevailed. The very seamen,* who were severely

* The following instance deserves to be recorded, as being traced by the hand of a foremast man of the Britannia, Lord Northesk, who had been wounded, in a letter which he sent home. "The shot that killed William Hillman and three others, wounded me and five more. Another of my messmates, Thomas Crosby, was also killed. *They had both kept at their guns like men, and died close to me.* Crosby had been shot in three places. Pray inform their poor friends of their death, *remind them that they died at the same time with Nelson, and at the moment of a glorious victory.*"

wounded, forgot their own suffering and danger, and burst into a flood tears : *O Nelson, our father, our beloved commander, would to God we could have died instead !* The gloom of the violent tempest which so immediately succeeded, appeared adapted to this general depression, and shrouded as it were the fleet, whose all-pervading spirit had expired. On the next day, October 22nd, Admiral Collingwood, in his public orders, issued the following acknowledgment of the power of God in honour of his holy name on that ocean, where his wonders had been so visibly displayed : *The Almighty God, whose arm is strength, having of his great mercy been pleased to crown the exertions of his majesty's fleet with success, in giving them a complete victory over their enemies, and that all praise and thanksgiving may be offered up to the throne of grace, for the great benefit of our country and to mankind, I have thought proper that a day should be appointed of general humiliation before God, and thanksgiving for his merciful goodness ; imploring forgiveness of our sins, a continuation of his divine mercy, and his constant aid to us in the defence of our country's liberties and laws, and without which the utmost efforts of man are nought.*

On the same day, Admiral Collingwood also issued his general order of thanks to the officers and seamen of the British fleet, dated from the Euryalus : "The ever to be lamented death of Lord Viscount Nelson, Duke of Bropte, the commander-in-chief, who fell in the action of the twenty-first in the arms of victory, covered with glory, whose memory will be ever dear to the British navy and the British nation, whose zeal for the honour of his king and for the interests of his country, will be ever held up as a shining example for a British seaman, leaves to me a duty, to return my thanks to the right honourable rear-admiral, the captains, officers, seamen, and detachments of royal marines serving on board his majesty's squadron now under my command, for their conduct on that day ; but where can I find language to express my sentiments of the valour and skill which were displayed by the officers, the seamen, and marines, in battle with the enemy ?



WILLIAM CARNEGIE EARL OF NORTHESK

Wm. Carnegie

where every individual appeared a hero on whom the glory of his country depended. The attack was irresistible, and the issue of it adds to the page of naval annals a brilliant instance of what Britons can do, when their king and country need their assistance.

“To the Right Honourable Rear-Admiral the Earl of Northesk, to the captains, officers, and seamen, and to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the royal marines, I beg to give my sincere and hearty thanks for their highly meritorious conduct both in the action, and in their zeal and activity in bringing the captured ships out from the perilous situation in which they were, after their surrender, among the shoals of Trafalgar, in boisterous weather. And I desire, that the respective captains will be pleased to communicate to the officers, seamen, and royal marines, this public testimony of my high approbation of their conduct, and my thanks for it.—CUTHEBERT COLLINGWOOD.”

Much has been said on the subject of the various and contradictory opinions that prevailed, respecting the positions of the British and combined fleets, and the mode of attack which was adopted by Lord Nelson. The following remarks, therefore, of a friend, who has considered them in every point of view, and by his genius has so ably delineated the battles of the departed hero, are inserted. In the first place, the British fleet was certainly not in the position stated in a plan sent to the Admiralty, and signed Majendie, captain of the *Bucentaur*; and yet they might appear so to those on board the enemy's ships, as our ships could not be exactly in the same track astern of each other. From the first authorities, the British fleet, when the enemy was discovered, were laying-to in two columns, with their heads to the northward, the wind westerly. As they immediately bore up and made sail for the enemy, Lord Collingwood's being the leeward division, was consequently so much the more ahead of Lord Nelson's, which distance the second in command kept all the way, and got into action before the commander-in-chief. Admiral Collingwood's description of the semicircular appearance of the combined

fleet in line of battle, and the intervals between each ship, supported by a line of leeward, must have been accurate, and was marked by that officer in the clearest manner. Nor are those persons altogether wrong, who assert that the combined fleets were in a straight line. The wind being very light, and the approach towards the enemy consequently slow, their line which was so much of a curve with the convex side to leeward, that Admiral Collingwood brought their rear and van abast his beam before he began to engage, must have appeared to our ships in the rear as a straight line; and as our mode of attack must have altered the enemy's movements, consequently their line soon made a very different appearance. So that all these seeming contrarieties were only caused from the combined fleet being viewed from different situations. It may also be right to notice, that Lord Nelson, finding from the lightness of the wind, that his progress would be retarded by the heavy-sailing ships, made the signal for the best sailers to come on, without regard to their stations in the line, and which must have then given them, to a distant spectator, the appearance of advancing without order, as was represented in the plan made by the captain of the Bucentaur. And this agrees also with an account published by the Spaniards; who, viewing the progress of the British columns from the walls of Cadiz, described them as coming down like mad Englishmen, in confusion and disorder; little imagining that what they deemed so was the result of profound thought, and real order."

The Victory having been made sea-worthy at Gibraltar, where she arrived on the 28th of October, passed through the Straits in company with the Belleisle during the night of the 4th of November, and the next day, at noon, joined the fleet under Admiral Collingwood, cruising off Cadiz. Captain Hardy parted company in the evening, and stood for England. The body of Lord Nelson had been preserved with the greatest care and attention by the surgeon, at first in brandy, and afterwards, on arriving at Gibraltar, where it could be procured in a sufficient quantity, with a portion of spirits of wine mixed with it. After a long and melancholy passage, the Victory

arrived at Spithead: her colours half-mast high, the recollection how lately she had sailed bearing the flag of Nelson, whose body she now brought home to his country for burial, rendered her an object that was contemplated with mingled veneration and regret. Her shattered and dismantled state declared the fury of the battle in which the hero fell, and her decks were still stained with the blood of those who had avenged his death. She had received eight shots between wind and water. Her foremast and mainmast had been very badly wounded, and were filled with musket bullets: she had a jury mizenmast and jury fore and main topmasts, and quantities of cannon-balls were seen in her bowsprit and bows. The wheel of the Victory was particularly examined; a shot had carried away during the action four of its spokes, and yet, of the men who were conning and steering, not one was either killed or wounded.—On the 11th of December, Captain Hardy sailed from Spithead for the Nore, previous to which the body of Lord Nelson was again examined. The remains were then wrapped in cotton vestments, and rolled from head to foot with bandages after the ancient mode of embalming, and the body was then placed in a leaden coffin filled with brandy holding a strong solution of camphor and myrrh: this was enclosed in one of wood, and placed in the after part of his lordship's cabin.

The news of the victory of Trafalgar was on the 6th of November announced in the metropolis by the park and tower guns. The despatches from Admiral Collingwood had been forwarded from the Admiralty to the king at Windsor, who received them at an early hour. His majesty was much affected, and a profound silence, which continued for some minutes, marked the gratitude of the venerable monarch. The whole of the royal family shed tears. The king then went to chapel, to return his devout thanks for the victory; and on the following day his majesty in council directed the 5th of December to be proclaimed as a day of general humiliation and praise to God: and it was also directed by the king, that the body of the British hero should be buried in St. Paul's

at the public expense with military and national honours.— On the 19th of December, the coffin, which had been made from a part of L'Orient's mainmast, and presented to Lord Nelson in 1799 by Captain Hallowell, was lined with satin, and sent to Woolwich yard enclosed in one of lead, and a shell. On the next day Mr. Tyson, formerly secretary to the admiral, having received an admiralty order addressed to Captain Hardy, to deliver him the body of Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, embarked, accompanied by Mr. Naylor, York Herald; with Mr. Whidbey, and other necessary attendants, and proceeded to meet the Victory. It blew all day a heavy gale from the s. w. and they with difficulty reached Sheerness that night. Commissioner Grey had received an admiralty order to send his yacht to the Nore, for the conveyance of the body to Greenwich Hospital, where it was to lie in state, previous to that public funeral which the British nation had decreed, and its interment in the cathedral of St. Paul's. It blew so hard on the 21st, that any communication with the Victory was impossible. On the morning of the 22nd, they proceeded in search of the Victory, which they discovered about noon, crossing the flats from Margate. In the evening, when they got on board, and had declared the melancholy purpose for which they came, "a general gloom and impressive silence pervaded the whole ship; the body, which lay in the admiral's cabin, was then placed on a table, with a union jack before it. It was so well preserved, that all who had known Lord Nelson, immediately recognized it: the officers of the Victory, and some of his lordship's friends, attended, to take their last farewell. It was afterwards apparelled in some of the late admiral's uniform clothes, and, bathed with the tears of those who stood around, was laid in the mainmast coffin made of the wreck of L'Orient, one of the captured trophies at Aboukir. On being lowered down from the Victory, the flag of the vice-admiral, which had been flying half-mast high ever since the battle, was struck, and immediately sent on board the yacht, where it was again hoisted in the same funereal manner.

On the 23d of December, the yacht and attendant vessel having anchored below Gravesend, got under weigh with a favourable light air, and the instant they were seen from the shore, those military honours commenced, that were paid throughout the river, to the body of the lamented hero, on its approach to the British metropolis : as it passed, and whilst the yacht continued in sight, minute guns were fired from Tilbury and the batteries at Gravesend ; all the ships instantly lowered their colours, and the shore appeared lined with volunteers under arms. At high-water the yacht anchored about two miles below Woolwich ; and the next morning, 24th of December, at eleven o'clock, again got under weigh. The military were drawn up in line, for a mile below the arsenal at Woolwich, with reversed arms, and the same in the arsenal and dock-yard : all the colours were lowered. Minute guns were again fired, the bells sounded the toll for the brave man fallen in battle, and the bands played a solemn dirge to his departed spirit : the scene was truly impressive. The yacht continued to pass slowly along the line of troops under an easy sail towards Greenwich, where it arrived at two o'clock. The navigation of the river was much impeded by the number of boats present, and on approaching Greenwich these increased considerably. Many persons were anxious to be admitted, and earnestly begged to be allowed only to touch the coffin. The yacht having come to an anchor off Greenwich, the body was landed at seven in the evening at the centre gate of the royal hospital, amidst an immense crowd of spectators, and conveyed with much difficulty through it to the Record Room, until the Painted Hall was prepared.* Another coffin, very

* "December 24th, 1805.—In the evening of this day, at a quarter before six o'clock, were deposited in the Record Room, the remains of the late Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, preparatory to his lying in state in the Painted Hall. Brought from on board his majesty's ship *Victory*, in which vessel he was killed in the action off Cape Trafalgar on the 21st of October last, by the commissioner's yacht from Sheerness.—Jos. Martyn, Solicitor ; J. Godby, Steward ; R. Smith, Clerk of the Cheque."

"His lordship's remains were brought here by warrant from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, by John Tyson, Jos. Whidbey, A. J. Scott, A. M. Chaplain, George Naylor, *York Herald*."

richly ornamented, and adorned with various devices, was then sent from London, in which the others were placed. On a plate of gold, his lordship's honours were inscribed at full length, to which was added—*After a series of transcendent and heroic services, this gallant admiral fell gloriously in the moment of a brilliant and decisive victory over the combined fleets of France and Spain, off Trafalgar, on the 21st of October, 1805.*

On Sunday morning, 5th of January, after divine service, the Painted Hall, where the body lay in state, was opened to the public; the Rev. Mr. Scott, Mr. Whidbey, and Mr. Tyson, attending as the principal mourners. The hall being closed at four o'clock, was again opened on the following Monday and Tuesday; and, according to a calculation made by Mr. Whidbey, upwards of 30,000 persons during the three days came to view the ceremony. On Tuesday evening, about four o'clock, the Elizabeth and Mary Brig arrived off Greenwich from Chatham, commanded by Lieutenant Brown, with a select band of seamen and marines from the brave crew of the Victory, in order to attend the funeral of their late commander. Lord Hood received them at the north gate near the river, amidst the greetings and acclamations of their countrymen: the honourable scars which they bore were viewed with gratitude, and the governor gave his orders that they should be admitted into the Painted Hall, to show how England honoured the hero who had done his duty. During this affecting scene no strangers were admitted.

On Wednesday, 8th of January, at half past seven o'clock, such naval officers as had enjoyed the friendship of the late noble admiral, and now wished to show every honour to his memory, assembled at the Admiralty, in order to proceed to Greenwich for the body. The lord mayor, and the different

"January 4th, 1806. On this day, at a quarter before three o'clock in the afternoon, the remains of the late V. A. Lord Viscount Nelson were removed from the Record Room to the Painted Hall, for the purpose of lying in state there, in the presence of A. J. Scott, Chaplain and foreign Secretary to Lord Nelson, Jos. Martyn, Solicitor of the Hospital, Richard Smith, J. Godby."

Extracted from the Record Book—J. P. Dyer

companies of the city of London, proceeded also thither in their state barges. A violent tempest had arisen during the night from the westward, and the tide had in consequence ebbed so extremely low that it was feared there would be considerable difficulty in conveying the body to the river. On the signal being made, an avenue of troops was immediately formed from the houses of the governor and lieutenant-governor to the north gate, leading to the river, and at the same instant another avenue was opened from the painted chamber: the procession then began to move towards the river, preceded by military music, and drums and fifes in the royal uniform, playing the Dead March in Saul. Then came 500 of the Greenwich pensioners, followed by six mourners, and by eight trumpeters sounding the 104th psalm. The standard next appeared, carried by a captain, supported by two lieutenants. Then followed some of the honourable badges of chivalry, the banner of the Order of the Bath, and the great banner borne by Captain Moorsom. Immediately preceding the body was seen Captain Hardy, supported by two lieutenants of the Victory, bearing a banner of emblems and armorial bearings; and next after the bier followed the venerable Sir Peter Parker, admiral of the fleet, the early patron and friend of Nelson, accompanied by the Hon. Captain Blackwood as his train-bearer: the supporters to the chief mourner were the Admirals Lords Hood and Radstock, who were followed by Vice-Admirals Caldwell, Hamilton, Nugent, Bligh, Sir R. Curtis, and Sir C. M. Pole. Four captains, and six lieutenants of the Victory closed the procession: the whole passed onwards through the north gate to the river-side along the causeway.

The body having been placed in the admiral's own barge, and given in charge to its brave and faithful crew, the remainder of the procession was immediately arranged, and moved forward. The weather became astonishingly favourable, and the thousands of spectators who lined the shore on both sides, uncovered their heads as the body passed. As the procession passed the Tower, about a quarter before three o'clock, its guns at minute intervals gave notice of the approach

to Westminster. About a quarter past three the barges arrived off Whitehall; when 800 of the 7th royal veteran battalion opened the line of procession to the Admiralty. The weather now again became suddenly tempestuous, a cloud with thunder and lightning spread throughout the horizon; and the particular coincidence of the abatement and coming on of the tempest at the beginning and termination of the procession by water, made a deep impression on the depressed minds of the seamen who were assembled.

During the following night, every preparation was made to add splendour and funereal grandeur to the last solemn national rites which England paid to Nelson. Nearly 10,000 regulars, consisting chiefly of the regiments that had fought and conquered in Egypt, and had, like the deceased admiral, exerted themselves to deliver the world from the tyrannic ambition of the power of France, preceded the hero to his tomb. The splendid appearance of so gallant a body of men in the funeral procession of a warrior whose whole soul had been filled with martial glory, assembled with so much facility and without the smallest bustle, gave no inconsiderable proof to such of our enemies* as were present, what the energies of the country could produce. The streets through which the procession passed to St. Paul's, were lined by 20,000 volunteers, two deep on each side; and had during the night been covered with gravel laid ready for the purpose.

When the morning of the 9th arrived, everything conspired to favour the general wishes of the British nation, and the weather was particularly favourable. At an early hour the Prince of Wales having been disappointed in his wish to honour the memory of Lord Nelson, which he felt to be his duty as Heir-apparent, attended only in a private capacity with the rest of the princes of the blood-royal. About noon the procession began to move from the Admiralty. The Scotch greys were amongst the first of the regiments that led. Then followed the 92d regiment highlanders, the 79th highlanders, the

* Admiral Villeneuve's captain, Majendie, had been allowed to come to London on his parole, to see the procession.

31st foot, the 21st foot, two squadrons of the 14th light dragoons, two squadrons of the 10th (the prince's) and two squadrons of the 2d. The military bands as they passed played solemn dirges. The military party of the procession was closed by the royal artillery with eleven pieces of cannon, and four companies of grenadiers.

The second part of the procession then moved forward; consisting chiefly of the private carriages of commoners, then of peers (beginning with barons and closing with dukes), and afterwards of the royal family with the prince. At nearly the head of this division, next to the 48 pensioners of Greenwich hospital, were 48 seamen and marines of his majesty's ship *Victory*, in their usual dress, with crape hatbands, and the admiral's barge's crew. One most interesting object in the procession was the flag of the noble admiral's ship the *Victory*, torn by the innumerable balls that had passed through it in the fury of the battle. It was stained with the blood of its intrepid crew, and, during some pauses in the procession, the seamen who bore it opened its ample folds, and showed their countrymen what marks of honour it displayed: *This was the flag of our great admiral, which was never lowered but at his death.*

There was a considerable pause before the last division of the procession, consisting of the mourners, left the Admiralty, in order to give sufficient time for the carriages in the preceding division. At length it began to move forward; when the interest of the spectators was considerably increased, to view the bier on which the body of their hero had been elevated, and at the earnest request of the multitude who thronged the Admiralty, the coffin had been laid open to the public view. It was preceded by the Richmond Herald, in his tabard, by the great banner borne by Captain Moorsom, supported by Lieutenants Keys and Tucker. Then came the York, Somerset, Lancaster, and Chester Heralds, in their tabards, bearing the gauntlet and spurs, the helm and crest, the target and sword, and lastly the surcoat, of the illustrious knight. The coronet of the warrior, that badge of rank which his sovereign had conferred after the battle of Aboukir, and which

was now raised to that of an earldom, was borne on a black velvet cushion, in the absence of Clarencieux, by Norroy king of arms, attended by two gentlemen ushers. Six lieutenants followed to bear the bannerolls, six admirals to bear the canopy, and four admirals to support the pall. Then came the car, bearing the body under an elevated canopy with plumes, supported by four columns resembling palm-trees, and having in its front and back a carved representation of the head and stern of his majesty's ship the Victory. The body was followed by Garter principal king of arms in his tabard with his sceptre, by the chief mourner Admiral Sir Peter Parker, and his train-bearer the Honourable Captain Blackwood: Captain Hardy, attended by Captain Bayntun and by Lieutenants King and Bligh, lastly bore the banner of emblems before the relations of the deceased; and the whole was closed by officers of the navy and army, according to their respective ranks.

About a quarter before one, the grenadiers of the 92d (highland) regiment arrived at St. Paul's, and, marching to the choir, formed in a single line on each side of the platform extending from the choir, so as to guard both sides of the passage from the great western door. Their noble appearance and great military fame for some minutes repressed the anxious expectation of the vast assembly. An uninterrupted stillness marked the decent sorrow of every one, when the distant sounds of sacred music announced that the procession was ascending Ludgate-hill: the fifes of the infantry with the trumpets of the cavalry sounded, and at length the great western door of St. Paul's was thrown open. The Prince of Wales entered, attended by Lord Moira, the Bishops of Lincoln and Chester, and the dignitaries of St. Paul's, to the choir. His royal highness then returned to the western door, and waited until the body of Lord Nelson arrived, when the procession was again formed: the different admirals who supported the pall and canopy attended in their places, with the bannerolls of the family borne on each side of the coffin by six officers of the Victory, the dean and prebendaries chanting the sublime exordium for burial: during the service in the



Nelson's Column, London

NELSON'S COLUMN, LONDON. (See page 100.)

choir, an anthem composed for the solemnity was sung. The procession then moved towards the grave, when the dean pronounced the rites of sepulture, and the last holy dirge to the departed spirit of NELSON was heard throughout the dome, HIS BODY IS BURIED IN PEACE, BUT HIS NAME LIVETH EVER-MORE *

For many years the character of our military strength had been essentially naval, and the insular nature of our country afforded facilities for improvement in the art of navigation, beyond any of our European enemies or rivals. Restricted in possessions at home by the bounding ocean, we passed this frontier, and extended our dominion over the seas. This great achievement had been accomplished by our naval supremacy solely, and the country had, from habitual feeling, now learned to look upon the wooden walls of England as the best and only protection against aggression. When Denmark seemed inclined to form an unnatural compact with our inveterate foe, the policy of England consisted in capturing or destroying her fleet, and totally frustrating her co-operation, as far as the invasion of our shores was concerned. Similar policy had influenced the councils of this island for years, and the importance, therefore, attached to the marine service, and to the distinguished individuals who set such glorious examples of heroism to our fleets, was gratefully appreciated by the nation. Had England lost one half of her army, her sorrow would not have been equal to that which was felt and expressed at the death of Nelson. This sentiment was uttered by the monarch in his palace, and re-echoed within the halls of parliament, where a public monument was decreed to his memory; and, at Glasgow, Dublin, Liverpool, Edinburgh, Birmingham, (from a design by Westmacott,) Yarmouth, and many other principal cities and towns of the United Kingdom, the public gratitude dictated the vote of a similar distinction. Nor should the column erected to his memory on Portsdown Hill, and called Nelson's Pillar, be passed unnoticed. It is a simple but noble

* The expenses of Admiral Nelson's funeral amounted to £14,000 11s. 6d.

piece of architecture, serving as a land-mark, and has been raised at the expense of his companions in the victory of Trafalgar. It has on one side the following inscription :

“Consecrated to the memory of LORD VISCOUNT NELSON, by the zealous attachment of all those who fought at TRAFALGAR, to perpetuate his triumph and their regret, MDCCCV.—And on the opposite:—The British fleet consisted of twenty-seven ships of the line; of France and Spain thirty-three, nineteen of which were taken or destroyed.”

The monument erected in the Guildhall in the city of London was opened to view on the 9th of November, 1810. The group consists of three figures—Britannia weeping over a bust of Nelson—the City recording his Victories—and Neptune leaning on a Dolphin. The battle of Trafalgar is represented on the pedestal, in basso relievo, with Lord Collingwood's ship in the state it remained after the action. The inscription, written by Richard Brinsley Sheridan, is as follows.*

TO HORATIO, VISCOUNT AND BARON NELSON,

Vice-Admiral of the White, and Knight of the Most Honourable
Order of the Bath.

A Man amongst the few who appear

At different periods to have been created

To promote the grandeur and add to the security of Nations ;

Inciting by their high example their fellow-mortals

Through all succeeding times, to pursue the course

That leads to the exaltation of our imperfect nature.

PROVIDENCE, that implanted in NELSON'S breast an ardent passion for renown, as bounteously endowed him with the transcendent talents necessary to the great purposes he was destined to accomplish. At an early period of life he entered into the naval service of his country; and early were the instances which marked the fearless nature and enterprise of his character; uniting to the loftiest spirit and the justest title to self-confidence a strict and humble obedience to the sovereign rule of discipline and subordination. Rising by due gradation to command, he infused into the bosoms of those he led the valorous ardour and enthusiastic zeal for the service of his King and Country which animated his own; and while he acquired the love of all by the sweetness and moderation of his temper, he inspired a universal confidence in the

* The marble bust from which the well-known casts of Nelson have been taken, was executed by the Hon. Anne Seymour Damer, and presented by her to the city of London.



never-failing resources of his capacious mind. It will be for history to relate the many great exploits through which, solicitous of peril, and regardless of wounds, he became the glory of his profession! But it belongs to this brief record of his illustrious career to say that he commanded and conquered at the Battles of the NILE and COPENHAGEN, Victories never before equalled, yet afterwards surpassed by his own last achievement, the Battle of TRAFALGAR! fought on the 21st of October, 1805. On that day, before the conclusion of the action, he fell mortally wounded; but the sources of life and sense failed not until it was known to him that the destruction of the enemy being completed, the glory of his country and his own had attained their summit. Then laying his hand on his brave heart, with a look of exalted resignation to the will of the SUPREME DISPOSER of the Fate of Man and Nations, he expired.

The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of the city of London

Have caused this Monument to be erected,

Not in the presumptuous hope of sustaining

The departed Hero's memory,

But to manifest their estimation of the Man,

And their admiration of his deeds.

This testimony of their Gratitude, they trust,

Will remain as long as their own renowned City shall exist.

The period to NELSON'S Fame can only be

THE END OF TIME!

May 5th, 1811.

Two ships also were directed to be built, and named, the one after the noble admiral, and the other after Cape Trafalgar, near which the battle had been fought. Great as the loss of such an officer was to his country, no inconsiderable source of consolation was derived from the reflection, that his fall at such a moment formed the consummation of his fame: as Lord Henry Petty observed in the house of commons on the debate* respecting a further provision for the Nelson

* May 18th, 1806; which terminated in a grant of 5000*l.* per annum, permanently annexed to the earldom, and of 120,000*l.* in money, including 10,000*l.* to each of his lordship's sisters, Mrs. Bolton and Mrs. Matcham. With this grant the estate of Stanlynch, near Salisbury, was purchased for the family, and is now called, from the great victory, "Trafalgar." It was originally the property of the Bocklands, ancestors of the first Countess Nelson. The Boltons, who ultimately succeeded to both title and estate, assume the name of Nelson. Through the laudable exertions of Mr. Abraham Goldsmid, one 16th of the £320,000, voted by parliament, as a reward to the brave sailors who conquered at Trafalgar, for the loss of their prizes, was appropriated to the use of Lord Nelson's sisters. Upwards of £70,000 had been offered by

family, *At tu, felix Agricola, non tantum Vitu, sed etiam opportunitate Mortis*. The sole ambition of this great admiral was to do his duty in no common manner, and to fulfil the expectations of his country. His fame, though it did not require this completion, was sealed by the battle of Trafalgar.* There could hardly be any other exploit left to achieve, in which he could hope again to surpass himself, and to turn the fate of Europe, by his able direction of the naval power of his country.

Never had individual performed such signal services for his country, as the hero of Trafalgar, and never did the British nation manifest such eagerness to acquit the gratitude it owed to him. His sovereign mourned his loss as one of the firmest supporters of his crown, and was pleased to direct that his remains should be interred in the superb cathedral of St. Paul.

the trustees, but refused, for the estate of Branches, situated at Cowlinge, in Suffolk, and for which a few years after the proprietors accepted £35,100.

* The following extract of a letter from the mother of Lord Castlereagh to her son, relative to this great action, is worthy of the high and lofty feeling of a British matron. The noble spirit of patriotic triumph which it develops, has not been surpassed in the best days of Greece and Rome; and the occasion which called it forth, was one, certainly, calculated to excite and stimulate all the refined sentiments of national exultation, in an event, the very triumph of which was intermingled with associations as melancholy as the day was glorious. Mr. Pitt, to whom the letter was shown, observed, that he considered it as one of the most elegant specimens of epistolary writing he had ever seen.—“Mount Stewart (Ireland) 15th of November, 1805: I thank you a thousand times for your interesting letter. Never was there, indeed, an event so mournfully and so triumphantly important to England as the battle of Trafalgar. The sentiment of lamenting the individual, more than rejoicing in the victory, shows the humanity and affection of the people of England; but their good sense, upon reflection, will dwell only on the conquest, because no death at a future moment could have been more glorious, and might have been less so. The public would never have sent him on another expedition: his health was not equal to another effort, and he might have yielded to the more natural, but less imposing efforts of more worldly honours: whereas he now begins his immortal career, having nothing to achieve upon earth, and bequeathing to the English fleet, a legacy which they alone are able to improve. Had I been his wife or his mother, I would rather have wept him dead, than seen him languish on a less splendid day. In such a death there is no sting, and in such a grave everlasting victory.”

Townships and corporations vied with each other in decreeing monuments to his memory, and the subscriptions for that purpose were raised with a rapidity that even surpassed expectation. Nor were the fellow-sufferers and companions of the hero forgotten upon this occasion. The committee of the Patriotic Fund redoubled their efforts in the service of the common cause, and, in the short space of two months, procured an addition of more than 100,000*l.* including the collection at the churches and chapels of all denominations on the general thanksgiving day, in aid of the purposes of this laudable institution. And here we must be permitted to indulge in a few remarks, suggested by our earnest desire to serve that cause in which our country was so long embarked.

The committee of the Patriotic Fund was formed, as it is well known, at Lloyd's coffee-house, in the year 1803, for the purpose "of assuaging the anguish of wounds, or palliating in some degree the more weighty misfortune of the loss of limbs; of alleviating the distresses of the widow and orphan; of smoothing the brow of sorrow for the loss of dearest relatives, the props of unhappy indigence and helpless age; and of granting pecuniary rewards or honorary badges of distinction for successful exertions of valour and merit." An appeal of such a nature to the feelings of a nation famed for humanity, could not but prove effectual. Public bodies and private individuals pressed forward to testify their approbation of the measure, by subscriptions as unexampled in their amount as the occasion which called them forth was unparalleled in the annals of the country. The mercantile interest in particular appeared to be deeply impressed with its importance, and set an example worthy of the imitation of the more distinguished classes in the old Exchange.

On the 3rd of December a special general meeting of the committee was held at Lloyd's coffee-house. The proceedings and resolutions of this meeting were as follows:

"Read from the London Gazette Extraordinary of the 6th and 11th, the Gazettes of the 16th, and the Gazette Extraordinary of the 27th of November, letters from Vice-Admiral

Lord Collingwood, containing his lordship's official despatches relative to the glorious victory of Trafalgar, with returns of the names and rank of the officers, and the number of seamen and marines killed and wounded on board his majesty's ships in that memorable engagement: and a letter from Rear-Admiral Sir R. J. Strachan, Bart. giving an account of the capture of four line-of-battle ships, off Ferrol, by the squadron under his command, with similar returns of the killed and wounded on that occasion.

“Resolved, That a vase of the value of five hundred pounds, ornamented with emblematical devices and appropriate inscriptions, illustrative of the transcendent and heroic achievements of the late Lord Viscount Nelson, be presented to his relict, Lady Viscountess Nelson.

“Resolved, That a similar vase be presented to the present Earl Nelson of Trafalgar, to descend, as an heir-loom, with the title so gloriously acquired.

“Resolved, That a similar vase be presented to Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood, who, after the death of the commander-in-chief, in the hour of victory, so nobly completed the triumph of the day.

“Resolved, That vases of the value of three hundred pounds each, with appropriate inscriptions, be presented to the Right Honourable Rear-Admiral the Earl of Northesk, and Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Strachan, Bart.

“Resolved, That swords of the value of one hundred pounds each, with appropriate inscriptions, be presented to the surviving captains and commanders of his majesty's ships, who shared in the dangers and glory of those memorable actions.

“Resolved, That the sum of one hundred pounds be presented to each of the lieutenants of his majesty's navy, captains of royal marines, and other officers, in the second class of his majesty's proclamation for the distribution of prize-money, who was severely wounded, and the sum of fifty-pounds to each officer of the same rank who was slightly wounded.

“Resolved, That the sum of fifty pounds be presented to each of the officers of the third class in his majesty's proclamation

for the distribution of prize-money, who was severely wounded ; and the sum of thirty pounds to each officer of the same rank who was slightly wounded.

“ Resolved, That the sum of forty pounds be presented to each of the officers in the fourth class of his majesty’s proclamation for the distribution of prize-money, who was severely wounded ; and the sum of twenty-five pounds to each officer of the same rank, who was slightly wounded ; and that additional gratuities be hereafter voted to such officers as may be disabled in consequence of their wounds.

“ Resolved, That the sum of forty pounds be presented to every seaman or marine, whose wounds may be attended with disability or loss of limb ; the sum of twenty pounds to each seaman or marine severely wounded ; and the sum of ten pounds to each seaman or marine slightly wounded.

“ Resolved, That relief be afforded to the widows, orphans, parents, and relatives, depending for support on the captains, officers, petty officers, seamen, and marines, who fell in these glorious engagements, as soon as their respective situations shall be made known to the committee.

“ Resolved, That letters be written to Lord Collingwood and Sir R. J. Strachan, requesting they will communicate the above resolutions to the different ships under their command, and furnish the committee with the names of the private seamen and marines killed and wounded, with such particulars as they can collect respecting the widows, orphans, or other relatives who depended for support on the brave men who so gloriously fell in the cause of their country.

“ Resolved, That the sums contributed on the day of thanksgiving be exclusively appropriated to the relief of the seamen, soldiers, marines, and volunteers, wounded ; and to the widows, orphans, and relatives of those killed in his majesty’s service ; and that a separate account be kept of the same.”

Addresses to the throne on the signal victory of Trafalgar, were meanwhile pouring in from every part of the country. The city of London, as usual, took the lead, and the court and common-council waited on his majesty at St. James’s with

their address of congratulation, which was as follows:—"To the king's most excellent majesty. The humble, loyal, and dutiful address of the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common-council assembled: Most gracious sovereign. We the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common-council assembled, impressed with the most solemn sense of gratitude to the Almighty disposer of events, for his late transcendent goodness to this highly favoured nation, approach the throne, to offer our warmest congratulations to your majesty, on the most glorious and decisive victory obtained over the combined naval force of France and Spain, off Cape Trafalgar, by your majesty's fleet under the command of the illustrious and ever to be lamented hero, Lord Viscount Nelson; a victory which, while it adds to the British archives, in immortal characters, the proudest conflict that ever graced them, mournfully records the fall of the chief who had, in that moment, attained the summit of splendid achievements.

"Far be it, however, from the minds of your majesty's grateful subjects to repine at the severe blow which Providence has inflicted, or, while they deplore the loss of distinguished worth, to offend the spirit and character of the British name, by forgetting the many obligations they owe to the surviving brave men whose valour and public spirit will lead them successfully to emulate such heroic deeds, inspired by their loyalty to their beloved king, and attachment to their native country."

To this address his majesty was pleased to return this most gracious answer:—"I receive with peculiar satisfaction the congratulations of my loyal city of London on the late glorious and decisive victory, obtained under the blessing of God by my fleet, commanded by the late Lord Viscount Nelson, over the combined force of France and Spain. The skill and intrepidity of my officers and seamen were never more conspicuous than on this important occasion. The loss of the distinguished commander under whom this great victory has been achieved, I most sincerely and deeply lament; his transcendent and heroic services will, I am persuaded, exist for ever in the

recollection of my people, and whilst they tend to stimulate those who come after him to similar exertions, they will prove lasting source of strength, security, and glory to my dominions."

Among the other addresses presented to his majesty on this glorious occasion, the following is so singularly loyal, dutiful, and patriotic, that we cannot forbear giving it a place here.

"To the king's most excellent majesty. We the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses of the ancient and loyal borough of Tenby, in South Wales, in common-council assembled, with the most profound sense of the wisdom and goodness of the Omnipotent Disposer of all events, dutifully presume, at this important time, to address our august sovereign.

"But at the glorious moment, when all our hearts overflow with transcendent joy on account of the unparalleled victory, skilfully planned, and nobly prosecuted, by the most heroic naval commander that ever triumphed on the ocean, and happily completed by his gallant second, it is an inexpressible alloy to our felicity, and which most severely damps our still great exultation, that we cannot but deplore the irreparable loss of that first among the foremost of Britannia's renowned admirals, the invincibly courageous, the ardently loyal, and the unswervingly patriotic Nelson. Yet, royal Sire! we greatly console ourselves, that, as man is born to die, the most desirable event for a matchless conqueror is to expire in the extended arms of Victory, when the momentary sting is done away in ineffable ecstasy at the thought that combatants still survived, all emulous of their departed leader's valour.—Thus reconciled to your majesty's and our country's loss, respecting the peerless defender of the Britanniæ, we your majesty's faithful subjects aforesaid, of the peninsular town of Tenby, sons of the waves, glowing with the most fervent patriotism and loyalty, venture most cordially to congratulate your most excellent majesty on the late astonishing and unrivalled triumph obtained by your royal fleet over the combined squadrons of Spain and France, when no less than twenty ships of their line of battle have been taken and destroyed ;

several others miserably shattered and effectually crippled ; also four French runaways have been since intercepted and captured, to the terrible disgrace and humiliating disappointment of the upstart usurper of France, all at the critical hour when the sanguinary tormentor of Europe was avowing his desires of ships and naval acquisitions ! So may this Corsican pest and scourge of the world always find his wants and wishes gratified, till Gaul (however galled) be retrenched within the ancient limits of the Rhone and the Seine. And God grant, royal sire, that the successful feats of your majesty's naval warriors may still more augment the zeal (eager as it ever is) of all Britannia's champions, till, once again, the Rhine and the Danube resound with Albion's cannon, and perfidious Bavaria tremble in her most recluse recesses, under the gloomy clouds of impending vengeance. Nor doubt we all, that celestial justice (however Heaven may alarm us with some checks, to have recourse to Omnipotence, and to court mercy by repentance,) will at length crown your righteous cause with victory, and finally overwhelm your majesty's false and flagitious adversaries."

Similar sentiments pervaded the nation from the highest to the lowest ; and the bosom of every Briton was a tomb in which the memory of their favourite hero was embalmed. Many monuments were designed to be erected to him, but none more appropriate than that ordered by the lords of the Admiralty, who gave directions for laying down a first-rate man of war in the king's yard at Woolwich, to be named after him.* This will be a monument on his own element the most grand and imposing ; it will carry his memory, and present an idea of his greatness to every quarter of the world, exciting in British seamen enthusiastic recollections, and impressing their enemies with awe.

The deep sense of the importance of the victory which crowned the achievements of the lamented hero of these memoirs, entertained by his majesty and his ministers, was strongly expressed a few days after his funeral on the opening

* The Trafalgar was not launched until 1840 : the restoration of peace rendering its completion unnecessary at an earlier period.

of parliament. This duty devolved, by the royal commission, on the lord chancellor, who delivered a speech to the following effect:—"My lords and gentlemen, in pursuance of the authority given to us by his majesty's commission, under the great seal, amongst other things to declare the cause of his holding this parliament, his majesty has directed us particularly to call your attention to the most decisive success with which Providence has vouchsafed to bless his majesty's arms at sea, since you were last assembled in parliament.

"The activity and perseverance of his majesty's fleets have been conspicuously displayed in the pursuit and attack of the different squadrons of the enemy, and every encounter has terminated to the honour of the British flag, and the diminution of the naval force of the powers with whom his majesty is at war; but the victory obtained over the combined fleet of France and Spain, off Cape Trafalgar, has manifested, beyond any exploit recorded even in the annals of the British navy, the skill and enterprise of his majesty's officers and seamen; and the destruction of so large a proportion of the naval strength of the enemy, has not only confirmed, in the most signal manner, the maritime superiority of this country, but has essentially contributed to the security of his majesty's dominions.

"His majesty most deeply regrets that the triumph of that day should have been unhappily clouded by the fall of the heroic commander under whom it was achieved, and he is persuaded that you will feel that this lamented, but most glorious termination of a series of transcendent exploits, claims a distinguished expression of the lasting gratitude of this country, and that you will therefore cheerfully concur in enabling his majesty to annex to those honours which he has conferred on the late Lord Viscount Nelson, such a mark of national munificence, as may preserve, to the latest posterity, the memory of his name and services, and the benefit of his great example."

Such were the sentiments that filled the bosom of the sovereign, and that were echoed back by his subjects of every

rank and description. The same admiration, the same gratitude, and the same regret which the exploits and the fall of the nation's hero excited in the mind of the most distinguished character in the state, was felt by the meanest individual, and constituted a monument more enviable than any which art is capable of erecting.

In compliance with the recommendation of his majesty, a few days after the meeting of parliament, both houses proceeded to take into consideration the means of remunerating the services of the lamented admiral in the person of his relatives. It would be an injustice to the noble admiral, as well as to the reader, were we to omit the high eulogies pronounced upon this occasion on his transcendent abilities, merits, and services.

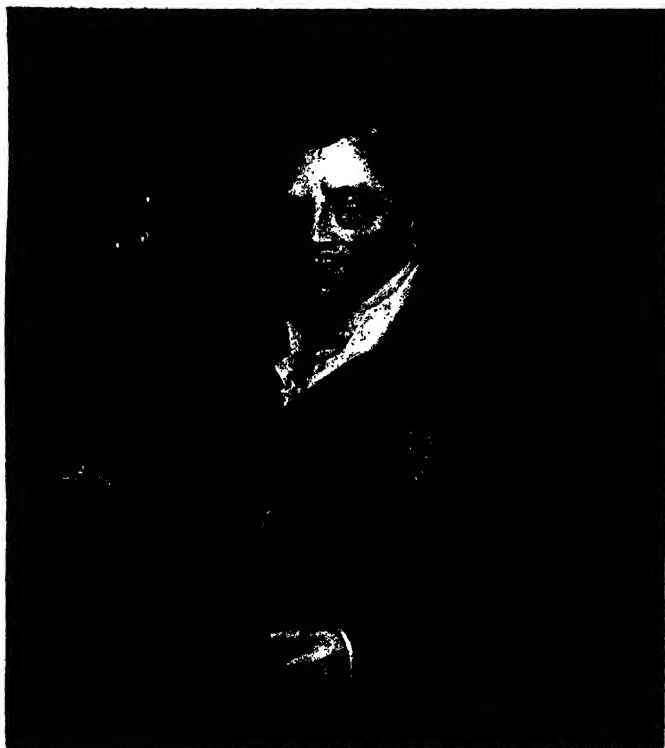
On the 29th of January, in the house of lords, Lord Hawkesbury rose pursuant to a notice he had given the preceding day, to move the thanks of the house to Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood, and the officers and men under his command, for their conduct in the action off Trafalgar, on the 21st of October. In stating the grounds on which that motion proceeded, respecting which, he felt confident, there would be no difference of opinion in that house, he believed it would not be deemed irrelevant, before he proceeded farther, to endeavour to pay that tribute of applause which they all must feel to be due to that great and illustrious commander, under whose auspices that signal and glorious victory was achieved, whom it was the misfortune of the country to lose in the moment of victory; but a consummation, so glorious to himself, incontrovertibly established his claim to the meed of immortal honour. The whole life of that great officer was devoted to the service of his country; and never did there exist a person more fully and variously qualified effectually to forward that service, than the noble and gallant viscount to whom he alluded. In contemplating his professional character, it was impossible to refrain from adverting to the merits of those who had the opportunity of improving those talents, and directing that spirit of enterprise and intrepidity which displayed itself

in his earlier years. On this head much credit was due to Sir Peter Parker, to Lord Hood, to Earl St. Vincent, and other distinguished officers, to whom such opportunities were afforded. To these, for their early distinguishing, and calling into action, the important qualifications with which the late gallant viscount was so eminently endowed, much praise was due: and so far, it may be said, those distinguished officers, in the first instance, contributed their parts to the glorious and important services he subsequently rendered.*

It was not, however, to these great and pre-eminent considerations of the important victories off the Nile, off Copenhagen, and off Trafalgar, that their lordships were alone to look for the merits and perfections of that gallant officer; on various occasions, even in the earliest part of his professional life, they were eminently to be found. His various services, as a subordinate officer, while on the Mediterranean station, were, in that point of view, particularly to be regarded. In that quarter, not only his zeal and intrepidity, but his talents and professional skill, were repeatedly manifested, in a way which was unequalled by any other officer in similar circumstances; and the same superior display of talent and enterprise was uniformly exhibited by him on every occasion of separate command.

When his majesty was first pleased to order a specific remuneration for his services, on the formal representation of them, which, on his part, became necessary on such an occasion, that illustrious officer had truly set forth, that he was concerned in the capture of seven ships of the line, ten frigates, and a number of smaller armed vessels; that he had been one hundred and twenty times in action with the enemies of his majesty: that he had lost one of his limbs, and one of his eyes. These were among the services of his early life, when he was yet comparatively unknown to his country as a distinguished commander, and previous to these glorious and immortal victories which eternized his fame to all posterity. On all those more important occasions to which extensive command and proportionate responsibility were attached, his powers and exertions appeared to grow and to increase in proportion to

the magnitude and importance of the service on which he was employed. The late glorious action off Trafalgar, the circumstances of which were so recent and so fresh in all their lordships' minds, it was needless to expatiate on ; suffice it to say, that in extensive and important consequences it exceeded every thing of the kind that graced the annals of the country. That glorious victory bore the same proportion to its magnitude, brilliancy, and important consequences, to the achievement at Copenhagen, that the latter did to the previously unparalleled victory off the Nile, and which, in fact, that victory did, in all those respects, to every other that preceded it. It seemed as if the energies of his mind, and the powers of his exertion, expanded, and progressively increased, on the respective occasions of those glorious victories, and in each of them he seemed to surpass what he had exhibited in the foregoing instance. The superior endowments possessed by the gallant admiral were not to be considered alone as operating through himself; his example and influence pervaded all those who were placed under him in command; his merits were not confined to that glorious energy he displayed in the heat of action ; the coolness and discrimination of his mind, formed a pre-eminent trait in his character; his promptitude to make the most of every advantage that presented itself; a most striking instance of which, and of unprecedented presence of mind, was manifested in his conduct in the critical and important affair at Copenhagen. These, however, were far from constituting the whole of his merits as an officer; his breast burned with a noble, a generous love of glory, which was the main-spring of all his heroic actions; and he had the faculty of electrifying all those around him with a similar enthusiasm. No marks of ferocity or cruelty, which so often stain the laurels of successful victory, ever dimmed the lustre of his achievements; but humanity and mercy were the characteristics of his glorious conduct after the hour of victory. His conduct in private life was equally admirable with that which he uniformly manifested in his professional career. All the virtues which could adorn human nature, were to be found in the illustrious Nelson.



Engraved by J. Cochran from a Painting of the present most Excellent Majesty the Queen by Sir Peter Paul Rubens.

HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY, WILLIAM-HENRY THE FOURTH.

William Henry

The attribute of mercy was what most eminently distinguished him. In the language of the poet, it was not his wish to

“Wade through slaughter to a throne,
Or shut the gates of mercy on mankind.”

It was impossible the glorious example of such a man could be without a correspondent effect on the character of others. In this way was to be considered the conduct of many of those who were placed under his command.

The high opinion which the gallant lord expressed for that meritorious officer, whose conduct was more regularly the subject of consideration that night, was equally creditable to both. On leaving this country, he expressed his satisfaction at the appointment of the noble Collingwood to the command; and his perfect confidence in his skill, talents, and exertions. Lord Hawkesbury then proceeded to comment on the gallant, meritorious conduct of Lord Collingwood in the action off Trafalgar, and of which many of the most skilful of the profession spoke in terms of unqualified applause. The first motion which he had to submit to their lordships was, for the thanks of the house to Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood; the second was for the like to Rear-Admiral the Earl of Northesk; and lastly to the subordinate officers and seamen under their command; and if ever skill and bravery were manifested by British officers and seamen, on any one occasion more than another, it was in the action off Trafalgar. Of this splendid and important victory there was one prominent circumstance to be considered; namely, the great inequality of the contending fleets. He had to apologize to their lordships for having detained them rather longer than was usual in such instances, but the proportionably greater magnitude and importance of the particular occasion, he trusted would plead his excuse. He then moved, “That the thanks of this house be given to Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood, for his very gallant and meritorious conduct in the command of the fleet under the late Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, in the action off Cape Trafalgar, on the 21st of October last, and that the Lord Chancellor do communicate the said thanks to his lordship.”

The Duke of Clarence observed, it was unnecessary for him to trouble their lordships at any length, after the very full, able, and eloquent manner in which the noble secretary of state had touched upon the character of his noble and lamented friend; he had also the happiness of knowing that illustrious officer through a great part of his professional career, and could bear ample testimony of the correctness of every part of the eulogium of the secretary of the state. He had been in habits of intimacy and friendship with him, twenty-three out of the forty-seven years of his age; and his character, as arising from his professional conduct in almost every part of the world, eclipsed that of every other officer he had known. The heroic actions of his noble friend since the year 1793, the commencement of the last war, were so recent and so fresh in the recollection of their lordships, as to render it unnecessary for him to dwell upon them. There were parts of the professional conduct of his noble friend which he could not avoid alluding to. His royal highness then particularized a variety of circumstances, indicative of the nautical skill, the strictness of discipline, and the unshaken perseverance of the illustrious commander in question; but no part of his recent conduct he thought more deserving of applause, than his vigorous decision immediately to pursue the enemy to the West Indies, where the terror of Nelson's name was such as to frustrate their designs, and paralyze their exertions. They fled with precipitation from that quarter of the globe; but still they were pursued by the intrepid and enterprising commander. He adverted to the circumstance of the unavoidable want of fresh provisions in the British fleet, under his noble friend's command, whose provident care and strictness of discipline was such, that scarcely one sick man was to be found in it. With respect to the influence of religion, he believed its effect upon the mind of his noble friend was unequalled in the example of any other officer. His royal highness quoted part of the gallant viscount's address to the officers and men under his command previous to the battle off Trafalgar, which manifested his pious resignation to the will of Providence, and his confi-

dence with respect to a successful issue, where the cause was just. With respect to the express motion under the consideration of their lordships, his royal highness was averse from any thing that might interrupt perfect unanimity ; but the peculiar importance of the occasion induced him to offer a proposition, in the way of amendment to the motion. This was read by his royal highness ; and the principle seemed to be, the specific thanks of the house for the prompt obedience with which Lord Collingwood had executed the orders of the late commander-in-chief ; for his intrepidity in forcing the enemy into action ; and more especially, for his exertions in destroying those vessels which were captured, when he found they could not be retained. His royal highness then handed his amendment to Lord Hawkesbury, for his perusal.

Lord Viscount Hood said, he would trouble their lordships with but a few words on the present occasion. He had long entertained a very high opinion of the merits of that excellent officer, Lord Collingwood, and particularly admired his conduct in the glorious and unparalleled victory off Cape Trafalgar. He would, however, venture to say, that many of those who commanded in his majesty's fleets, wanted only opportunity to prove themselves other Nelsons in judgment as well as in valour. He had himself the good fortune to have had the heroic admiral, so often adverted to, under his command in the Mediterranean, where he had placed him in situations which afforded full scope to his talents and his enterprising spirit, and his conduct on these occasions seemed to be well known to their lordships.

Lord Hawkesbury rose to explain. With respect to the royal duke's proposition, what he had moved in the first instance was couched according to the uniform rule on such occasions, which went to state the approbation generally ; and that mode, in a military point of view, would be regarded as the most desirable ; it would be better to leave the expressions general : these observations he applied to the two first propositions ; with regard to the third, approving the destruction of the captured ships, it struck him as the least objectionable.

The Duke of Clarence stated, that he recollected a proceeding somewhat similar in the vote of thanks for the victory off Cape St. Vincent in 1797.

Earl Spencer agreed with his royal highness, as to the very handsome manner in which the noble secretary rendered the tribute of applause to the unparalleled merits of the illustrious officer in question. He was glad that what fell from the royal duke prevented his giving a silent vote on a subject of such importance, and on which he felt so deeply. He fully agreed with every thing that fell from the noble secretary of state; but though the country had to lament the loss of Nelson, yet he trusted his glorious example would inspire the breast of other commanders, in every particular to emulate his admirable conduct.

Lord Viscount Sidmouth observed, with all due deference to the royal duke, that nothing, on such an occasion as the present, ought to be proposed, tending to interrupt the perfect unanimity which would otherwise pervade the house. He fully concurred in the propriety of what was said of the magnitude, importance, and brilliancy of the victory which gave rise to the present proceeding. He had also to thank his royal highness, for preventing him, too, from having, perhaps, given a silent vote on the occasion; though his respect for the illustrious individual in question, as a man, was not to be exceeded; or his admiration of him, as an officer, to be equalled. The events of last summer, including the brilliant exploit of Sir R. Strachan, were not to be paralleled in the naval annals of the country. At the same time, he thought much praise was due to his noble friend then present (Earl St. Vincent) for his very judicious original selection of Lord Nelson for the important service he was entrusted with. He could not refrain from adding his mite to the well-deserved panegyrics upon the illustrious Nelson that evening. He deplored his death as a loss to the country, but that event created sentiments in the breast of British officers pregnant with the elements of future glory. His life was devoted to the service of his country; his disposition was noble, generous, and

humane ; it was no wonder, therefore, that in command he possessed such an inestimable influence over those placed under him ; his death made a deep and everlasting impression on the hearts and feelings of every man ; but an impression which would hereafter tend to the glory and advantage of the country.

Lord Hawkesbury observed, with respect to the latter part of the royal duke's amendment, the insertion of his words, "and for his conduct after the action," would be totally unobjectionable, and generally met his royal highness's idea. The words were, therefore, ordered to be inserted ; and the motion, so amended, agreed to without a dissentient voice. His lordship then proposed the thanks of the house to Rear-Admiral the Earl of Northesk, for his conduct in the said action, and to the several captains and subordinate officers in the fleet.

A short conversation here took place between the Duke of Clarence, the lord-chancellor, and the noble secretary of state, chiefly on the most regular form of couching the motions, his royal highness thinking the thanks to Rear-Admiral the Earl of Northesk ought to be the subject of a separate motion. At length the propriety of this observation seemed to be admitted, and the motion was divided accordingly.

The thanks of the house to the petty officers and seamen, and to the royal marines, then followed, and were voted with equal unanimity.

On the day that these splendid testimonials were paid in the house of lords to departed merit, the same subject was likewise discussed by the commons. Lord Castlereagh, who rose for the purpose of moving the thanks of the house for the glorious achievements off Trafalgar, said, that before he proceeded to the main point of the glorious victory off Trafalgar, he should first draw the attention of the house to the commencement of the naval campaign, by the sailing of the Rochefort squadron to the West Indies, the achievements of which went no farther than to give Sir George Prevost an opportunity of showing what British valour could do against a vast superiority of force. On its return home it was followed by the Toulon fleet,

amounting in the whole to 18 sail of the line, and was pursued by a greatly inferior fleet commanded by Lord Nelson, at the sound of whose name it precipitately quitted the West Indies, without performing any other exploit than the insignificant capture of the Diamond Rock. The Admiralty was no sooner apprised by Lord Nelson of the sailing of the squadron from the West Indies, and of his intention to proceed directly to the Straits, than with the greatest promptitude they placed three squadrons, in different points, to intercept it, which was successively done by that under Admiral Calder at Ferrol, where the enemy were defeated in the engagement of the 22nd of July. After this, having received other reinforcements, they proceeded to Cadiz, where they were immediately blockaded by an English fleet of sufficient force. Soon after this, Lord Nelson took the command of the fleet, then consisting of 34 ships of the line, when he was *fortunately* obliged to detach seven of them up the Mediterranean, for the purpose of obtaining supplies. He called it *fortunately*, because it was the knowledge of that detachment which encouraged the enemy to come out, with the intention of joining the Carthagenia squadron, which would augment them to 50 sail of the line, with which they proposed to proceed into the Mediterranean, and disturb the military operations which, it was then understood, would take place on the part of the allies in the north of Italy. Of the action of Trafalgar, which ensued, he did not know what part of it he should first select. Never was so great and complete a victory obtained by the most superior, over the most inferior fleet. It was indeed of such a character, and of an order so unparalleled, that naval men could scarcely believe it possible, that when two fleets were on the sea, so many ships of one fleet could have been compelled to strike and be afterwards taken possession of by the other. The wonders of that achievement, however, did not end with that day. Besides the valour, perseverance, and firmness, the fleet displayed in its struggle with a superior force, it had the same qualities to exert in the succeeding days against the elements. There were many other admirable features in that transaction, which

should never be forgotten; and particularly the generous devotion of our gallant seamen for the safety of their fellow-creatures; a quality which was once cherished by ancient France, to alleviate and assuage the miseries of war; but which it seemed the wish and study of modern France totally to eradicate from the breast of man. If any thing more were necessary in the course of this memorable proceeding, to gratify the manly feelings of Englishmen, it was the manner in which it was followed up by the gallant Sir Richard Strachan, in taking every thing which the enemy placed within his grasp. It was impossible to calculate what effect this immortal victory might, under other circumstances, have produced upon the general destinies of man; but the signal and important effect which was most apparent in it, was, that it took from the enemy twenty-five ships of the line, fifteen French, and ten Spanish, and that of these ten ships were added to the navy of this country. Thus, in one campaign, did the enemy lose more than one-third, and nearly one half of the whole naval force which they had to oppose us. It was also a proud consolation, that by the judicious arrangements of the Admiralty, the operations of the British navy were not for a moment suspended or interrupted by the consequence of this battle, as all the crippled ships were immediately replaced by fresh ones, at the very moment ready to relieve them; while all the vessels engaged in that glorious exploit came back safe into our ports, without one having fallen a victim either to the fortune of war, or to the elements. He would not dwell on the effect it must have on the security, in these times, of the United Kingdom, as that must be obvious to every man in the country; but it was remarkable, that it took place on a day, when in the midst of his continental triumphs, the ruler of France had to feel that there yet remained in the world, at least one power capable of controlling his ambition. That was the day, when, by the misconduct of others as much as by his own military prowess, he achieved a victory which gave him hopes that he might look with the greatest confidence to the future destruction of this country; yet on the same day, he also received a lesson which

proved to him, that his confidence was vain, and that his hopes were frustrated. It happened in this, as it generally did in all actions of that kind, that in the midst of its joy, the country had also a source of deep regret. It then suffered the greatest loss that had ever been sustained; and if a man were permitted to look into futurity, it would be difficult to foresee the possibility of such a loss ever taking place again. The sincerity of the public sorrow was testified in the countenances of the people, weighed down by grief, by the severity of that chastisement; and even on an occasion which usually exhibited features of pleasantry in this country, grief and lamentation were the prevailing features of the people. That great man, however, had every thing in him which could attach a nation to him. From his very infancy, his was a life of heroism. His manners also attached his officers and his men to him in such a degree, that he led them on to victory with an ardour that was irresistible. In all his actions were displayed the ardent mind and disposition of a man born to excel in his profession. Every action of his life displayed some new trait of his professional character. The manœuvre at Aboukir, was in its nature novel; at Copenhagen was displayed, perhaps, a still wider range of talents; and only the victory of Trafalgar remained, to surpass even all his former achievements. But in looking at this irreparable loss, the house should also look to such consolation as it might possibly derive from it. It often happens, that great souls were the inhabitants of very imperfect bodies. During the whole of Lord Nelson's life, while he was bravely contending against the enemies of his country, he had also to contend with a very feeble constitution. Performing what he had done, while he combated with nature, it would be difficult to conceive what he might have done, if blessed with a sounder constitution. It would have been the severest of mortifications and misfortunes to him, if his health had not permitted him to lead on the power of his country; but, at present, however much we may lament him, he was at least out of the reach of all misfortunes. He felt that he should disappoint the house if he did not state to them what

was designed for his family by the munificence of the sovereign ; for, as to the hero himself, he was out of the roach of gratitude, but his name and family still remained, to be provided for by a grateful country. Were the proposed reward to be compared to the merit of Lord Nelson, no measure would be sufficiently great for it ; but what his majesty proposed, was a provision for his lordship's widow, correspondent to her rank ; and the amount intended was two thousand pounds a year. Another provision remained to be annexed to his honours and his name. It was desirable that there should be a sort of national property, invested in land, attached to the title. It was not proposed to build, for the possessors of the title, a magnificent palace, which would entail upon them a heavy scale of expense, but an elegant mansion, such, however, as may be considered a national object, which would require the sum of 200,000*l.* to be placed for those purposes, at the disposition of the speakers of the two houses of parliament, associated with such other eminent persons as are best qualified for that purpose. It was, he said, impossible for him to convey any adequate idea of what he conceived of the achievement of Trafalgar : but, great as was the loss of the hero, his example will furnish a model for succeeding officers ; will show what a great man may accomplish, and may suggest, if possible, even additional exertions. He then paid several handsome compliments to the merit of Lord Collingwood, Northesk, and the other officers ; observing, that, "there never was a day on which every man more completely did his duty." He had only farther to add, that it was intended to allow the same rewards to the seamen for the ships of the enemy destroyed, as if they had succeeded in bringing them safely into port. He then moved, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to direct, that a monument be erected in the cathedral church of St. Paul, to the memory of Lord Viscount Nelson, who fell gloriously, in the moment of a complete and decisive victory, obtained by his skill and enterprise, over the combined fleets of France and Spain, off Cape Trafalgar, on the 21st of October 1805.

The resolution was then read, and agreed to unanimously.

The same thanks were voted to the Earl of Northesk, third in command, &c.

The next resolutions were, that the house do highly approve and acknowledge the conduct and behaviour of the seamen and marines in the said action. That the speaker do signify the said resolutions to Lord Collingwood; and that his lordship be desired to communicate the same to the officers and men serving under him; which were all severally and unanimously agreed to.

On the 1st of February Lord Castlereagh brought down a message from the king, in which his majesty stated, that, taking into his royal consideration the brilliant and transcendent achievements of the late Lord Nelson, during a life spent in the service of his country, and which terminated in a glorious death, in the moment of victory; and being desirous of granting an annuity of two thousand pounds a year to his widow, Lady Viscountess Nelson, his majesty recommended to the house of commons to adopt the best mode of securing and settling the said annuity. His lordship delivered another message from the king, in which his majesty said, that, considering the signal and important services of Cuthbert Lord Collingwood, vice-admiral of the blue, in the ever memorable and decisive victory off Trafalgar, and his highly meritorious conduct after the action, so honourable to himself, and beneficial to the country, he was desirous to bestow on him some signal mark of favour. His majesty, therefore, had granted to the said Lord Collingwood, and his two next heirs, to whom the title of Baron Collingwood should descend, an annuity of 2,000*l.* a year, and recommended it to the commons to enable him to make good the same.

These recommendations of his majesty were taken into immediate consideration by the house, and the unanimity with which the representatives of the nation concurred in the measures suggested by their sovereign, proves that distinguished rewards are ever ready to be bestowed on distinguished merit, and will undoubtedly stimulate others to imitate the brilliant

examples of those who were in this instance the objects of national gratitude.

It only now remains to gratify the curiosity of the reader with some particulars relative to the Will of Lord Nelson. —The testamentary papers of his lordship were proved in Doctors' Commons on the 23rd of December, 1805, by Earl Nelson and William Haslewood, Esq. the executors. The following is an abstract of his last Will and Testament :—

Horatio Viscount Nelson, of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk, and Duke of Bronte, in the kingdom of Farther Sicily, desires—In the event that he shall die in England, to be buried in the parish church of Burnham Thorpe, “by the side of his deceased father and mother, and in as private manner as may be, unless his majesty shall signify it to be his pleasure that his body shall be interred elsewhere.”

He gives the sum of 100*l.* to the poor of the several parishes of Burnham Thorpe, Sutton, and Norton, in the county of Norfolk, viz. one-third part to each parish ; the same to be divided at the discretion of the curates or ministers.

To Emma Lady Hamilton, widow of the Right Honourable Sir William Hamilton, K. B. his diamond star, as a token of his friendship ; also the silver cup marked E. H. which she presented to him.

To his brother, the Rev. William Nelson, D. D. (now Earl Nelson) the gold box presented to him by the city of London ; also his gold sword, presented to him by the captains who fought with him at the Nile.

To his sister Catherine Matcham, the sword presented to him by the city of London.

To his sister Susannah Bolton, the silver cup presented to him by the Turkey Company.

To A. Davison, of St. James's-square, his Turkish gun, scymetar, and canteen.

To his “worthy friend” Captain Hardy, all his telescopes and sea glasses, and 100*l.*

To each of his executors 100*l.*

To his brother, and William Haslewood, Esq. of Craven-

street, Strand, he gives all the residue of his goods, chattels, and personal estate, (except the household goods, &c. which shall be in his house at Merton, at his decease, and also except his diamond sword and jewels, and any other articles which he should, by any codicil to his will, otherwise dispose of,) to hold to them and their executors and administrators, upon the trusts following, namely:—Upon trust, that his said trustees and executors shall, as soon as may be, after his death, convert into money such personal estate as does not consist of money, and lay out and invest the same in the purchase of 3 per cent. consols; and also the money which shall belong to him at his death, so that the dividends and interests may produce the clear yearly sum of 1000*l.* of which they shall stand possessed, upon trust that, during the life of Frances Herbert, Viscountess Nelson, his wife, his said trustees do, and shall, fully authorize and empower the said Viscountess Nelson, his wife, and her assigns, to receive the dividends, when the same shall become due, in addition to all other provisions made by him at any time heretofore for her, and in addition to the sum of 4,000*l.* lately given her, which sums to be taken in lieu and satisfaction of all dower, and right and title of dower, of her the said Viscountess Nelson. And in case the annual income to be produced from the bank annuities, to be purchased with the residue of his personal estate, shall be insufficient to answer and pay the sum of 1,000*l.* a year, then the deficiency to be made up to his wife out of his barony, town, and lands in Farther Sicily; so that this said wife may be entitled to receive a clear income of 1,000*l.*; and after the decease of his said wife, to divide the said 1,000*l.* unto the said William Nelson, Susannah Bolton, and Catherine Matcham.

His lordship has further directed, that if it shall please his majesty to grant, in his life-time, a pension or pensions to the amount of 1000*l.* per annum to Lady Nelson, then the above injunction to raise a sum of money to be vested in the funds, as a provision for her ladyship, shall be void.

The estate and dukedom of Bronte are limited in such a manner as to accompany the barony of Nelson, (to which

limitations the creation of Earl and Viscount Nelson of Trafalgar and of Merton, has been made to correspond.) The insignia of the various orders with which his lordship was invested, were directed to be transmitted to the successive possessors of the barony and dukedom, in the nature of heirlooms.

The house and furniture at Merton, with seventy acres of the land belonging to it, were given to Lady Hamilton, to revert after her death to his lordship's right heirs; and the residuary estate was bequeathed in equal thirds to Earl^o Nelson, Mrs. Bolton, and Mrs. Matcham.

Such is the substance of the Will itself, which is dated the 10th of May, 1803. After that period seven codicils had been added to it. Excepting the first, which relates to the bequest to Lady Hamilton, all these codicils are in the handwriting of Lord Nelson. As they are unclogged with the verbosity and incessant repetitions of legal instruments, and contain many traits that illustrate the native benevolence of his soul, we subjoin a copy of them.

The codicil No. 2, cannot fail to excite peculiar interest. It is as follows:—"I, Horatio Viscount Nelson of the Nile, of Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk, and of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and Duke of Bronte, in the kingdom of Farther Sicily, having, to my last will and testament, which bears date on or about the 10th of May, in the year of our Lord 1803, made and published a codicil bearing date the 13th day of the same month, do make and publish a farther codicil to the same last will and testament in manner following:—That is to say, I give and bequeath to Miss Horatia Nelson Thomson (who was baptized on the 13th day of May last, in the parish of St. Mary-le-bone, in the county of Middlesex, by Benjamin Lawrence, curate, and John Willock, assistant-clerk, and whom I acknowledge as my adopted daughter, the sum of 4,000l. sterling money of Great Britain, to be paid at the expiration of six months after my decease, or sooner if possible; and I leave my dearest friend Emma, Lady Hamilton, sole guardian of the said Horatia Nelson Thomson,

name she may assume, be it S. Nelson, or S. Field, or any other name, and if I have not the means to pay this sum exclusive of my other legacies, I then trust that my friend Alexander Davison will pay it for me regularly every year, and to be paid quarterly as it is paid at present. I declare this a codicil to my will, this seventeenth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and four.

(L. S.) "NELSON AND BRONTE."

"Witness, T. M. Hardy, John Scott."

No. 6. "To be added to my will and codicils. N. and B.

"I hereby confirm my last will and testament, bearing date on or about May 13th, 1803, and confirm anew my legacy to Lady Emma Hamilton, and to my adopted daughter, Horatia Nelson Thomson. And I further give to my dear friend Emma Hamilton, widow of the Right Hon. Sir William Hamilton K. B. the sum of two thousand pounds sterling, and to my secretary, John Scott, Esq. the sum of one hundred pounds, to buy a ring or some token of my remembrance, and I request he will, with Captain Hardy, take care of papers and effects, (for my executors). And I give to my friend, the Rev. Alexander John Scott, the sum of two hundred pounds sterling. Dated on board the Victory, in the Gulf of Palma, Sardinia, December nineteenth, one thousand eight hundred and four."

"NELSON AND BRONTE."

No. 7. "I give to my dearest friend Lady Hamilton, all the hay belonging to me at Merton, and in Wimbledon parish. September 11th, 1805."

"NELSON AND BRONTE"

"Proved at London with seven codicils, the 23rd December, 1805, before the Right Hon. Sir William Scott, Kt. Doctor of Laws and Surrogate, by the oaths of the Rev. and Right Hon. William Nelson, Doctor in Divinity, Viscount Merton and Earl Nelson of Trafalgar, and William Haslewood, Esq. the executors, to whom administration was granted, having been sworn duly to administer."

"Thomas Gosling, Nath. Gosling, and R. C. Creswell, deputy registrars.—Exd. Dec. 8, 1805."

Original Letter of George the Fourth, when Prince of Wales, to Alexander Davison, Esq. on the Death of Lord Nelson.

"I am extremely obliged to you, my dear sir, for your confidential letter, which I received this morning. You may be well assured that, did it depend upon me, there would not be a wish, a desire of our ever-to-be-lamented and much-loved friend, as well as adored hero, that I should not consider as a solemn obligation upon his friends, and his country, to fulfil; it is a duty they owe his memory, and his matchless and unrivalled excellence: such are my sentiments, and I should hope that there is still in this country sufficient honour, virtue, and gratitude, to prompt us to ratify and to carry into effect the last dying request of our Nelson, and by that means proving not only to the whole world, but to future ages, that we were worthy of having such a man belonging to us. It must be needless, my dear sir, to discuss over with you in particular, the irreparable loss dear Nelson ever must be, not merely to his friends but to his country, especially at the present crisis--and during the present most awful contest, his very name was a host of itself; Nelson and Victory were one and the same to us, and it carried dismay and terror to the hearts of our enemies. But the subject is too painful a one to dwell longer upon; as to myself, all that I can do, either publicly or privately, to testify the reverence, the respect I entertain for his memory as a hero, and as the greatest public character that ever embellished the page of history, independent of what I can with the greatest truth term, the enthusiastic attachment I felt for him as a friend, I consider it as my duty to fulfil; and therefore, though I may be prevented from taking that ostensible and prominent situation at his funeral which I think my birth and high rank entitled me to claim, still nothing shall prevent me in a private character following his remains to their last resting-place; for though the station and the character may be less ostensible, less prominent, yet the feelings of the heart will not therefore be the less poignant, or the less acute. I am, my dear sir, with the greatest truth, ever very sincerely yours. (Brighton, Dec. 18th, 1805.) "GEORGE P. R."

"To A. Davison, Esq. St. James's-square, London."

The character of Lord Nelson, as an admiral, a statesman, and an Englishman, has been ably drawn in the preceding pages by his own hand, and by such of his friends as could best appreciate and discriminate its various excellence. The merited eulogy of his professional character, which his repeated and extraordinary services so often produced in both houses of parliament, took a more solemn and ample range after the battle of Trafalgar.

The public character of Lord Nelson as a great naval officer is without a parallel in the age in which he lived. The splendour of his professional career proceeded from the uniform zeal by which his conduct was inspired, and the profound judgment and mature reflection by which that zeal was disciplined. His ardent mind was always intent on the one great object of duty which was at any time before him : *it is to the day of battle*, (he constantly repeated a short time previous to his death), *it is to the day of battle, and only to that day, that I anxiously look*. Like an experienced warrior, and a great politician, he never steered a middle course, nor adopted half measures. His idea of naval enterprise was, as he strongly expressed it in his admirable letter to Sir Hyde Parker before the battle of Copenhagen, *to take the bull by the horns, for that the strongest measures were the best*. All his officers were sensible of the powerful energies of his mind on public duty, and implicitly relied upon them.

In addition to those features of character, which appear in the interesting memoir of his conduct both during the battle of Copenhagen, and on his taking the command in the Baltic, the following remarks of Captain Blackwood may be added : "As far as my judgment went, I am sure Lord Nelson was the greatest and best admiral this country could ever boast. He governed those who were under him by the most gratifying acts of kindness, endeavouring to make all sorts of service as pleasant as circumstances would admit. His discernment also made him assign to every officer that service for which his abilities were best calculated ; and though he would have duty done, yet he never drew the cord too tight. He carried on the duty of a commander-in-chief, by addressing himself to the feelings of

those under him, on which he so well acted, that every officer and man vied who should do his best : and I am quite persuaded he succeeded in making bad officers so satisfied with themselves, that he reformed many, and from all produced more real service than any other admiral ever did, or ever will do."

The consciousness of his great abilities, and the zeal which incited them, frequently gave him an appearance of what has vaguely been termed vanity ; which seems too common and degrading an appellation for that passion, which has fed the flame of genius in the illustrious men of all ages. Nelson often felt and acknowledged a supernatural influence which raised him above the common level of mankind, and made him feel from his youth upwards, that he was born to perform great and unrivalled exploits : *if God gives me life*, he would often exclaim, *I will be renowned*. In the West Indies (1785), when surrounded by such alarming and powerful enemies, how astonishingly did he rise above them all, and reply to the governor of the Leeward Islands, *I have the honour, Sir, of being as old as the prime minister of England, and think myself as capable of commanding one of his majesty's ships, as that minister is of governing the state*. His intrepid spirit, and sound judgment, bore down obstacles which would have impeded common minds, and proved the truth of his favourite opinion, that perseverance in the race which is set before us, will generally meet with its reward even in this life : *without having any inheritance*, to use his own words, *I have received all the honours of my profession, been created a peer of Great Britain, &c, and I may therefore say to the reader, Go thou, and do likewise*.

In what an eminent degree Lord Nelson possessed wisdom, properly so called, the following definition of it, as given by a learned writer, will amply demonstrate : "The general conception of wisdom is easy, and the character of it invariable. It consists first of the deliberate proposing the best and fittest end ; and secondly, of the fixed choice, and the steady undeclining pursuit, of the most proper and effectual means, in

order to promote it." This clearly appeared in his orders and plans of attack, which were simple, and, when made known, easily understood. Nelson's wisdom extended throughout his squadron, and reflected light on those who would otherwise have been bewildered. The decision and consistency which this imparted to his professional conduct, left no room for doubt or uncertainty in the minds of his officers: consequently the whole circle of obedience in his fleet was perfect. The manner in which he concluded his directions to an officer, when he wished him particularly to exert himself, was admirably calculated to call forth whatever energies he possessed: *I am confident*, said he at the close of one of his letters on service, *that you will act as appears to you best for his majesty's service: I rely with confidence upon your judgment, zeal, and expedition.*

No commander-in-chief ever struggled more uniformly than he did, to oppose that overruling political interest at home, which prevented an admiral from rewarding merit, when the very spirit of the service required it, and called on him to preserve a general emulation throughout his fleet. His letters to the different ministers demonstrate his judicious feelings on that increasing evil: in those addressed to the Admiralty, many of which have been necessarily omitted, are some filled with his reasons for an apparent neglect of the long list of names which he had been directed to promote. Nelson frequently brought forward officers of great and distinguished ability, whom he had scarcely seen: *You must be sensible*, (said he when writing to a great statesman then at the Admiralty,) *that a commander-in-chief must have the power of rewarding merit, if he wishes for good conduct in the fleet. I am sure I need say no more to your lordship upon this subject. We must think alike.*

His anxious care of the public money and his attention to an economy of it, never contracted his mind, nor rendered him callous to the feelings and comfort of his men. If he had treasure at any time on board, he was always restless until it had reached its destination: yet though so vigilant a steward

the nation's wealth, he equally reprobated that occasional position for parsimony which periodically affected the energies of the British government: "No man, (said he, when writing to one of our consuls in the Mediterranean,) wishes to be more economical of the public money than myself; yet in our present state, and with the sort of people whom we have to manage in these matters, *care must be taken, not to be penny wise, and pound foolish.*" He also, particularly complained of old unprincipled men being allowed to retain situations abroad, of great national importance. One of his letters on this subject thus concludes, *We should have, my lord, younger men, of honour and of business: if they are money-making men, they ought not to be appointed.*

Like all men of great genius and sanguine minds, the prejudices of Lord Nelson were strong, and sometimes, when unfairly worked upon, unconquerable: *as one not easily unkind, but, being wrought, perplexed in the extreme.* The exquisite tenderness of his mind, unwarped by their force, extended to all with whom he was connected, and operated powerfully on their hearts. The grateful address of the barge's crew of the Foudroyant, on his return to England in 1800, affords an interesting proof of it. Whenever he found himself disappointed in any person of whom he had formed too favourable an opinion, he rarely suffered it to appear by a change in his behaviour—that the routine of service might continue to glide on smoothly, and the harmony which prevailed in his fleet might remain uninterrupted.

The whole character of this great admiral was consummated by his uniform sense of the blessed tenets of Christianity. This raised his mind above those mean and ignoble passions which depress the abilities of so great a portion of mankind, and rendered him superior to the rest of his contemporaries, because he acted on a superior principle: in every work, therefore, which he undertook, in the service of his king and country, he did it, in the language of the sacred historian, *with all his heart, and prospered.* The fame of Nelson will endure as long as the name of his country shall be pronounced,

in new ages of the world, by future generations of mankind posterity consecrate his memory by emulating the perfections of his public character, and the disinterested zeal of his conduct; and should the time arrive, when on our native land shall be called to protect the tomb of Nelson, and the liberties which he died to save, may his immortal spirit hover around us, and with the blessing of God's providence lead us to victory.

END OF LORD NELSON'S LIFE.

TOM ALLEN,

THE LAST OF THE AGAMEMNONS.

THE monuments and memorials of the immortal Nelson are widely scattered over the kingdom, to die only when the name of British valour shall be forgotten, but the living witnesses and partners of his glory are rapidly passing from amongst us. One of the most interesting, though least conspicuous of the few that long survived their leader, was his faithful body-servant, TOM ALLEN, who, at last, was struck by the hand of death with almost as much celerity as if he had fallen on the deck of the Victory.

This fine specimen of the true British tar was born at Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk, in the year 1764, and, from his earliest years, had been in the service of the Nelson family. He had always exhibited a warm attachment to the person of the great Nelson, and it was to this strong feeling, rather than to a distinct love of fame, we must attribute Tom's having consented to resign his home on *terra firma*, for the perilous life of a sailor. When Nelson was appointed to the *Agamemnon*, Tom consented to follow his young master's fortunes, being then just nineteen years of age. A raw country lad, labouring under the inconvenience of a violent Norfolk dialect, which he never lost, he was not looked upon as an interesting or important addition to the captain's suite; but the salt-water soon gave him a polish, and his faithful services did not long remain unnoticed, or fail in obtaining for him the respect due to fidelity. In due time, Tom became more and more useful to his master, and at length, being almost necessary,* was considered his most trusty servant; in fact, he was for a time

* Next to Lady Hamilton, Tom Allen possessed the greatest influence with his heroic master."—*Long, Long ago.*

looked upon as a part and parcel of his master, and, on shore or on board, was a constant appendage. Tom had the custody of Captain Nelson's plate, jewels, everything, even his person, was in some measure in Tom's custody, for on all visits ashore, or when ill from wounds, he slept near his master; and when from the latter cause, as was sometimes the case, his master had not strength of voice to awaken his "*wally de sham*," a string was affixed to Tom's shirt collar for that purpose. As a matter of course, Tom accompanied the great hero in the Captain, the *Minervé*, (Captain Cockburne,)* in which the commodore had hoisted his broad pendant *pro tempore*, and the *Théséus*, successively, until the untoward event at Teneriffe. It was not his good fortune to have been on shore on that occasion. but he was present at the amputation of the hero's arm, an event he was in the habit of describing with much feeling. Tom's service was nearly equal in length to that of his captain; he had shared in those numerous perils, and triumphs, that render Nelson's career the most glorious epoch of our naval history, and the regard of his master seemed to acquire strength by the addition of each year to the acquaintance. Formally installed into the office of confidential man, he returned, as a matter of course, with his master to England, in the *Seahorse*; and, when the gallant commodore was restored to a more robust health, Tom accompanied him to the Mediterranean. He was in attendance on his master during that anxious and persevering chase of the French fleet, which ended so gloriously for England, and for Nelson, in the destruction of that powerful armament in Aboukir Bay. The glory of this day, the brightest in the whole of Tom Allen's useful and honest life, the brave fellow was in the constant practice of describing, upon every possible opportunity; and between his irregularity of manner and dialect, and the inordinate degree of vanity under which he evidently laboured in the recital, he succeeded in exciting in his hearers a highly favourable opinion of his loyalty,

* *Vide* Memoir of Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas M. Hardy. Vol. iii. p. 254, *et seq.*

courage, and kind-heartedness. With the victory off the Nile, Tom's character as a hero terminated; and, although he accompanied the admiral in the attack on Copenhagen, on board the *Elephant*, he did not appear to glory in the doings of that day, and never spoke of them unless pressed to do so. In action, Tom was generally stationed at one of the upper-deck guns, and became, in time, as well used to fighting as it was necessary Nelson's follower should be. Although from certain little observations, in which he had been known to indulge, it is evident that the proverb, "no man is a hero to his *valet-de-chambre*," was in some degree exemplified in this instance also; yet it was impossible that any one could be about Nelson without being inspired with esteem and reverence, as was in reality the case with Tom Allen. Speaking of the celebrated action of the fourteenth of February, Tom delighted to detail the deeds of his master; nor would he, when closely pressed, deny that he fought at his side* when boarding the *San Nicholas*. In his narrative of the battle of Aboukir, Tom never forgot to mention that it was the admiral's intention to have dressed himself in full uniform previous to going into action; but that, with the freedom of a sailor, and the influence he was then able to exercise over him, he induced his master to forego his intention. As the battle off the Nile was a night-action, the particular dress of the admiral could not have been a point of importance, but Tom was under the impression, and he did not become less obstinate as his years increased, that it was in consequence of the dress worn by Lord Nelson, at Trafalgar, that he lost his life: this assertion was the uniform preface to another opinion, to which he tenaciously adhered during his life, viz.: "that had he, Tom Allen, been Lord Nelson's *wally-de-sham* at that time, he would have prevented his master from putting on the coat he wore, and, therefore, that he would not have fallen in the battle of Trafalgar." Tom's logic is a little deficient, it wants that *vis*

* "When under fire from the ports of Valette, which hulled the ships, and knocked away our fore-topmasts, this faithful servant interposed his bulky form between those forts and his little master."—*Long, Long ago*.

consequentia, so valuable to just reasoning, as our hero might have been killed on that memorable day, in whatever dress Tom might have proposed ; besides, it has been clearly shown that it was a chance bullet, and not one especially aimed at Nelson, which gave him his death-wound. The smoke which obscured every object at the distance of fifteen or sixteen yards, it may reasonably be supposed, precluded the possibility of any man's selecting Nelson in particular ; and, therefore, we may fairly conjecture, that poor Tom's excellent intention, even had he succeeded in it, would have been frustrated by the hand of Providence, who ordained the most glorious death for his master, and the one which, if he had been allowed a choice, he would to a certainty have fixed on. He fell in the consummation of a victory the greatest in its consequences, and most decisive in itself, upon record.

It is supposed that Tom partook of some of the weakness of our nature, and from too much indulgence became too useful : as this was not an error of the heart, having had his judgment corrected by a brief suspension from the duties, but not the emoluments of his office, he was again reinstated in his original powers, and domiciled at Merton. In the year 1837, some of those jewels, of which Tom had once the care, were discovered in the Town Hall of Southwark, and the rumour reaching Greenwich Hospital, Sir Thomas Hardy directed Tom Allen to wait upon the magistrates, and identify the different articles. The appearance of the brave tar, then in his seventy-third year, excited considerable interest, which was much heightened by the account he gave of his services while *wally de sham* to Admiral Nelson.*

When Nelson took leave of his home at Merton, and joined the fleet destined for Cadiz, in September 1805, Tom Allen's services being required on shore for some time after his master's departure, the Victory sailed without him. He had received orders to follow, and join the ship as soon as possible, but the poor

* The circumstances of this singular discovery, as well as a particular account of Tom's visit to Southwark Town Hall, will be found in the *Life of Nelson* Vol. ii. p. 138. *Note.*

fellow had exceeded the time limited for sailing, and the last ship had quitted Portsmouth before his arrival there. This misfortune pressed heavily on the hardy sailor for the remainder of his life : the battle of Trafalgar had been fought, Nelson even in death victorious, and, in these tremendous scenes, the story of which will be told after ages shall have rolled by, Tom might have been an actor, had he only reached Portsmouth in time for the last ship of the fleet.

When Nelson descended into the tomb, many of the brave fellows who had shared his dangers, but not his glory, were thrown on the resources of their own manly minds. Returning home to Burnham Thorpe, Tom sought the means of sustaining his wife and family by such occupations and services as a rural district affords. There his sheet-anchor was Captain Sir. W. Bolton, R. N. of Coltesey, Norwich, in whose service he continued until the decease of that benevolent individual, after which Tom was once more sent adrift. His situation from this point became rapidly more distressing; his age, the peculiar habits of his former life, the broken-hearted feelings of a man who was the favourite follower, the confidential servant of the most illustrious of England's naval heroes, all these circumstances tended to unfit him for any occupation, and to imbitter his declining years. The workhouse was the only coast in view, and there, every day, he expected to be thrown. It was at this critical moment in his earthly cruise, that a friendly sail hove in sight; kind Providence now conducted a benevolent and patriotic individual* to the sailor's cottage, who gave him that protection which his country, probably, should have anticipated. But this generous man was the instrument through which the blessings of God were, in this instance, to be distributed, and the persevering zeal with which he put forward poor Tom's just claims upon his country, cannot be sufficiently applauded, or his generous example too conspicuously exhibited to society. Remembering that Sir Thos. Hardy, then one of the Lords of the Admiralty, had been

* P. N. Scott, Esq., of Norwich, a gentleman of independent fortune, and who had formerly been a surgeon in the royal navy.

Nelson's friend, and also his flag-captain for several years, in which situation he must frequently have witnessed the officious zeal of Tom for his master's happiness, Mr. Scott submitted the poor fellow's case to his humane consideration, and solicited his co-operation in placing the old sailor in a situation of comfort and independence, to which his services had fairly entitled him.

A second coadjutor, with whose name and character the reader of Nelson's life is necessarily familiar, was found by Mr. Scott, in Sir W. Beatty, M.D., formerly surgeon on board the Victory, but at this period physician to the Royal Hospital at Greenwich.* With the assistance of these influential individuals, Mr. Scott succeeded in obtaining a berth for his honest protégé in that noble asylum, into which he was, at length, admitted a pensioner in the year 1831. The first round of the ladder being gained, the second would have been ascended with less difficulty, had Tom enjoyed the blessings of a moderate education in his youth; but being totally illiterate, he was ineligible to promotion in the public service. This unfortunate check to his ambition being communicated to Sir Jahleel Brenton, Bart., lieutenant-governor of the Hospital, he immediately employed Tom in the capacity of gardener. In this new sphere of action, his indefatigable industry was found to compensate for the absence of horticultural skill; and his scrupulous integrity gained him the confidence of the lieutenant-governor. Beyond the duties of his ostensible occupation, his quiet and temperate habits and uninterrupted cheerfulness rendered him in every way trust-worthy. The emoluments of his little stewardship, and an occasional lift from his old shipmates, enabled him to rub along, and keep his old wife and their grand-daughter tolerably comfortable; while his excellent qualities secured for him the respect of the heads of the institution in which he was sheltered. Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Hardy having been appointed governor of Greenwich Hospital, Tom's star was at once in the ascendant, and, on the eighteenth of June, 1837, the consummation so devoutly

* *Life and Services of Admiral Lord Nelson.* Vol. iii. p. 157. *Note.*

to be wished for, at length took place, in the appointment of Lord Nelson's old servant to the office of "Pewterer" to the Hospital. For Tom, this was no mean service, being accompanied by a salary of sixty-five pounds per annum, with apartments in the west hall of the Hospital; and there his wife and their grand-daughter continued to share with him those rewards of his humble, but not inglorious life, until Tom set out for "that undiscovered country, from whose bourne no traveller returns."

Greenwich Hospital might have furnished forth many nobler wrecks of the British veteran than Tom personally presented, but there never was a more thorough sailor, in thought, feeling, and action.

This genuine original is said to have supplied the anecdotes of Captain Chamier's "Ben Brace," and he was known to have betrayed indignation, when he understood that he had made his appearance in the world under any name but his own. Allen always reminded his visitors of one of the shattered masts of his former dwelling; his face was seared by wind and weather, but there was an unyielding strength about his stunted frame, that seemed to defy the attacks of time: his long hair was almost as black and his eye as piercing as when he was in his youth, and might, according to his own belief, "have married either of the princesses of Naples, had he been so minded." He was a mixture of honest hardihood, untutored simplicity, pardonable vanity, and nautical prejudice; a fine example of the British tar, who acknowledges but three principles of action—love for his country, hatred for his enemies, and veneration for his captain. And of that country Tom deserved well, for beside being the faithful servant, or, as he styled himself, "*the wally de sham*," of her noblest hero; he wore away the vigour of his arm in her defence (to use his own phraseology) in *fourteen skirmishes and fifteen reg'lar engagements*, not to mention "affairs" of inferior note, being wounded three several times, once most severely; but as he often ejaculated, "thanks be to God, his precious eyes and limbs were spared!"

Tom's yarn was now, at the close of 1838, nearly spun out, although none observed its slender quality; and on the 23rd

day of November in that year, "the last of the Agamemnons" expired without a groan, in that grand temple of English gratitude, where he had for a few previous years resided. The truly benevolent heart needs no other compensation than the sense of its own rectitude; but justice, generosity, and the force of example demand the warmest acknowledgments to the individual who had espoused honest Tom's cause, and so unremittingly persevered in placing him in a position honourable alike to himself and his country. The benevolent conduct of Mr. Scott, in inspiring those that possessed the power with the inclination likewise, to save the brave veteran, has been most cordially acknowledged by the respectable instruments of the poor fellow's promotion, and their prompt contribution to his happiness as life declined; and one of his kindest friends, patrons, and benefactors, after his admission to the Hospital, Sir Jahleel Brenton, thus communicated the circumstances of his death to his old patron, on the day next after his decease, as a just tribute to that gentleman's benevolent and exemplary conduct.

"Greenwich Hospital, 24th November, 1838.—My dear Sir: It is with deep regret that I inform you that poor old Tom Allen is no more. He was taken off most suddenly and most unexpectedly last night. He was apparently in the enjoyment of high health, and looking remarkably well, when we saw him only a few days before. His wife had gone to town yesterday, and poor Allen had been walking before the coach-office, expecting the arrival of the omnibus in the evening, when it is supposed he got thoroughly chilled, for, at the time of his wife's arrival, she found him seized with spasms, and he was immediately taken to the infirmary. The poor woman herself was so ill as to render it necessary that she should be conveyed to her apartments and put to bed, where she still remains, and in such a state that the medical attendants will not allow her to be informed of her husband's death. Lady Brenton has just been to see her, and is very much distressed at the state in which she found her:—every care shall be taken of her, and I will not fail to communicate further respecting her. I very much regret having to make you acquainted with a

circumstance which will give you so much pain, but you will have the comfort of reflecting that you have been the means of making the last years of poor Allen's life happy. Lady Brenton joins me in kindest regards and best wishes to Mrs. Scott and your daughter. Very sincerely yours—J. Brenton."

This feeling communication, little less honourable to the writer than to his amiable correspondent, was soon after followed by a second from Rear-Admiral Sir T. Hardy, governor of the Hospital, from which we extract a few lines that tend to illustrate our "story of a life." "Greenwich Hospital, 29th November, 1838.—Sir Thomas Hardy regrets, in common with Mr. Scott, the loss of poor Tom Allen, but was happy to have it in his power to contribute to his comfort in the latter days of his life." The coldness of office, the distance of rank, may appear in the brief note of the governor, but his heart was as warm in that elevated position, as when he and Tom Allen had sailed together; and the record of his regard for his old shipmate, is preserved by a tablet which the governor caused to be erected over his grave, in the Hospital cemetery, bearing this inscription: "To the memory of Thomas Allen, the faithful servant of Lord Nelson, born at Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk, 1764, and died at the royal Hospital, Greenwich, on the 23rd of November, 1838." Thus, while the dome of Saint Paul's forms a mausoleum of his noble master, worthy of his greatness, the servant in his death is not less gratefully remembered.

Tom was blessed with a family, and his eldest hope, "a chip of the old block," a strong athletic man, had long ceased to be a burden to his parents: selecting a rustic life, he became an honest labourer, at Fakenham, in his native county of Norfolk, and never lost any becoming opportunity of acknowledging "that his name was Horatio, and that the great Lord Nelson was his godfather."

The situation which Tom held in the Hospital did not entitle his widow to a pension, so that at his fall the active benevolence of Tom's fast friend in life, Mr. Scott, was again called into operation, in raising a subscription amongst his

friends for the future provision of the poor widow. Whether every reminiscence of Nelson is called to mind with grateful sentiments in the hero's country, or, whether warm admiration of Mr. Scott's humane exertions secured for his labours a cordial support, or, which is most probable, the combination of both causes operated, the subscription, which he suggested, received the most liberal patronage; and the benefactor of Tom Allen and his family enjoyed this comfortable reflection, that, having first given the nation an opportunity of rewarding one of her bravest veterans—one who occupied an interesting position in our fleet—he was again the means of rendering us his debtor, by taking care that we should not leave the widow of poor Tom to die neglected.

The activity of Mr. Scott in furthering the latter national object, for certainly Tom's widow was better entitled to a public pension than hundreds that we have known of in higher life, is fully, fairly, and faithfully related, and the rapid success of his amiable efforts, may be collected from the following communication from his friend and coadjutor, Lieutenant Rivers, R. N., with which we shall conclude our recollections of "The Last of the Agamemnons"—an humble sequel to the memoirs of his great master.

"Greenwich Hospital, 3d of April, 1839. — My dear sir: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st instant. I communicated your wishes to Sir W. Beatty, who bid me thank you for the newspaper, and acquaint you, that Dr. Andrew B——d resides in Clarges-street, Piccadilly. I believe I have added all the names to my list. I this day added it up, and find it amounts to £106 18s.—*really you have done wonders*—say nothing about what you may reasonably expect. On the other side I have given you a summary of the subscription. I have not shown it to Sir Thomas lately,—he will be surprised. I do hope to find Nelson's undertaker liberal, and that your returns from Malta will be equally so. There appear no bounds to your strenuous exertions. If you find your interview with Lord N——n free and conversant, you may tell him, Lieutenant Rivers, of Greenwich

Hospital, who owes his appointment to the late Lord Nelson, (prebendary of Canterbury,) has a son passed nearly four years, with high testimonials of character, and cannot get him made a lieutenant. This may appear a hard case to one who was his lordship's aid-de-camp in the action, and received a slap in the face with a splinter, that knocked out two or three teeth, and shortly after he found himself *minus* a leg; but here is a living witness of God's mercy, and will, as long as he draws the breath of life, venerate the name of 'Nelson.'

"I went to R——'s rooms in Regent Street, to see the designs and models for the Nelson monument; few were good, and much rubbish amongst them: it appears the committee thought so too, and ordered them to try again. I find half-a-dozen more names will fill the front side of my subscription list. I shall feel delighted to fill the other side. You will have the goodness to remember me to the old widow, and believe me, my dear sir, yours very sincerely—W. Rivers."

. The Editor is indebted to "The East India and Colonial Chronicle," to "The Mirror," and to private sources, for the materials from which the preceding narrative is composed.

M E M O I R
OF
SIR THOMAS MASTERMAN HARDY, BART.
G. C. B.
REAR-ADMIRAL OF THE BLUE,
&c. &c. &c.

PREFACE.

THE Life of Nelson, of which Messrs Clarke and M'Arthur were the authors, is confessedly the most full and authentic, and the fountain whence all subsequent biographers have drawn the materials for more light and less valuable histories. Those eye-witnesses, however, of Nelson's great achievements, viewed every trait in their hero's character with so much partiality, that they passed silently over a few acts of doubtful policy, or such as might in some degree dim the lustre of his bright renown. Friendship may extenuate their fault, but history claims equally a record of the great examples we should imitate, and of the errors we should avoid. A Memoir of ADMIRAL HARDY affords a fortunate, and a fitting opportunity, for supplying many suppressions in our hero's history, that brave officer having borne no insignificant share in those exploits of his friend, which have been rewarded and immortalized by his grateful country : nor can there be a more appropriate accompaniment, or a more suitable tribute to the great man's memory, than to unite it with that of his chosen friend.

In the year 1836, the following beautiful little poem addressed to Admiral Hardy, then Governor of Greenwich Hospital, by the ill-fated Mrs. Maclean, better known in the world of letters by the signature of L. E. L. appeared in the Drawing-Room Scrap-Book. Such are its tone, its spirit, its happy style, that it should be consecrated to the heroes whose glories it celebrates, by being incorporated with their memoirs.

SILENCE is now upon the seas,
The silent seas of yore ;
The thunder of the cannonade
Awakes the wave no more.

The battle-flag droops o'er the mast,
There quiet let it sleep ;
For it hath won in wilder hours
Its empire o'er the deep.

PREFACE.

Now let it wave above their home,
Of those who fought afar ;
The victors of the Baltic sea,
The brave of Trafalgar.

Upon a terrace by the Thames,
I saw the Admiral stand ;
He who received the latest clasp
Of Nelson's dying hand.

Age, toil, and care had somewhat bowed
His bearing proud and high ;
But yet resolve was on his lip,
And fire was in his eye.

I felt no wonder England holds
Dominion o'er the seas :
Still the red cross will face the world,
While she hath men like these.

And gathered there beneath the sun
Were loitering veterans old ;
As if of former victories
And former days they told.

No prouder trophy hath our isle,
Though proud her trophies be,
Than that old palace where are housed
The veterans of the sea.

Her other domes—her wealth, her pride,
Her science may declare ;
But Greenwich hath the noblest claim—
Her gratitude is there.

MEMOIR OF REAR-ADMIRAL

SIR THOMAS MASTERMAN HARDY, BART.

G. C. B. :

GOVERNOR OF GREENWICH HOSPITAL.

THE brightest talents may, and frequently do find a silent abode in the hearts of individuals, like the latent spark in the durable flint, until the application of an opportunity or power capable of eliciting them. The most shining qualities cannot enlighten, unless a proper medium be afforded for the transit of their rays: and, when those properties or propensities are not of a general nature, but limited to a particular atmosphere, the opportunity for distinction becomes more limited, and difficult of attainment. It was the chance fortune of Admiral Hardy to have lived in an age, when the dangers that threatened this country called forth the energies of every Briton, when the character of the national army was depressed and under-rated, while Britannia, being completely mistress of the seas, the entire hopes of England for defence and security rested on her naval force. This general feeling conferred a degree of respect, an estimate of much value, an importance of such a paramount nature upon that service, that the youth of England then, and then only, felt their views of ambition completed when they trod the deck of a man-of-war. This laudable, ennobling, patriotic sentiment brought into historic existence the names of those eminent men, who—from the reign of Elizabeth, when the great but unwieldy armada was foiled, defeated, and almost annihilated, to that of Victoria, when peace reigned throughout the world—have fought and conquered all the fleets

of Europe; acquiring for their country the empire of the ocean, for themselves a grateful remembrance, an imperishable fame.

This light of patriotism shot its rays into the remotest parts of the kingdom; no glens, however deep, were unenlightened by its brightness, no elevation too lofty to be above its reach. The humblest as well as the nobly born of our youth felt its influence, and thirsted to drink of those waters that conferred immortality.

At an early age young Hardy exhibited an ardent passion for the naval profession, and, contrary to the pressing solicitations of his relations in Somersetshire, where he was born on the 5th of April, 1769, he persevered in the selection he had made. In this choice a passion for glory could alone have guided him, for he was without interest, without those family connexions that could have placed his foot upon the lowest round of the ladder, leaving future steps to Providence, and personal exertion. But the hero of after years had a rising consciousness of greatness to come, and resolved on pursuing fame over the deep-green seas.

Hardy's first services were, as midshipman, and afterwards master's mate, on board the *Hebe* frigate, commanded by Captain Alexander Hood, a brave and skilful officer, who fell nobly in the brilliant action between his ship, the *Mars* of 74 guns, and the *Hercule*, a French vessel of the same weight of metal, off Brest harbour. Besides the excellent example of such a commander, young Hardy was not less fortunate in his messmates, amongst whom perhaps George Cockburn was subsequently the most conspicuous for the attainment of rank and reputation by the gallantry of his exploits, which raised him, deservedly, to the rank of vice-admiral* in the service. A table of Admiral Hardy's services from 1782 to 1806, is given in page 233 of this memoir.

* In the year 1797, "A French convoy, laden with stores for the siege of Mantua, had taken refuge under the batteries in Larma bay. Nelson ordered Cockburn, in the *Meleager*, to lead in, as being best acquainted, and drawing the least water. Cockburn ran in as close to the batteries as the water would

Time rolled his ceaseless course, and in its flow of events, at one time turbid, occasionally smooth, Hardy had the gratification of again becoming the companion of the brave George Cockburn, who had in the interim been made captain, and had the command of the *Minerve*, a frigate of 38 guns, which Sir John Jervis had given him as a reward of his bravery in the bay of Larra. In this frigate Hardy had been appointed a lieutenant early in the revolutionary war, 20th of August, 1796; and in the desperate action between the *Minerve* and the Spanish frigate *Santa Sabina*, of 40 guns, in which the latter was captured, Lieut. Hardy distinguished himself probably more than any of his brother officers. This action was one of those minor affairs in Nelson's life, scarcely remembered by the general historian, in which he exhibited an example of the most cool and determined bravery, and gave his juniors a lesson in naval tactics. Having compelled the Spaniard to strike, the *Minerve* was convoying her prize, when another Spanish frigate hove in sight: no time was lost in bringing her to action also, but before she could be taken, the whole Spanish fleet appeared. Enough had been done for national honour, it was now time for the crew of the *Minerve* to consult their own safety, which was done by steering close under the great guns of a Spanish three-decker, crowding every sail, and giving chase. The Spaniards pursued, but the foremost of the pursuers generally lowered their studding sails, to allow their consorts time to come up, so that Nelson's usual fortune prevailed, and he effected a clear escape.

permit, and commenced action with the armed vessels and forts. Nelson, never happy if any one was nearer to the enemy than himself, wished to get between the *Meleager* and the shore. For this purpose he luffed in, but *Cockburn had left no room for him*, and the *Agamemnon* grounded under the stern of the *Meleager*. The enterprise went exactly on the same, and every thing succeeded; the forts were silenced, all the vessels brought out, and the *Agamemnon* got off without damage.—Cockburn, while the ship was aground, went on board to offer his services; he found Nelson in his cabin writing letters,—a singular trait in the character of that great man: few officers would have either the nerve or the inclination to be so employed while their ships lay aground under an enemy's battery, and whence it was not quite certain that she would be got off."—*Brenton's Naval History*, Vol. 1. p. 337.

In the year 1797, while our fleet lay off Cadiz, a report prevailed that the viceroy of Mexico, with the treasure-ship, had put into Teneriffe. This was sufficient to excite the willing and the brave; and Nelson was the first to offer his services for the purpose of reducing Santa Cruz, and capturing the treasure. Having obtained the permission of Earl St. Vincent to attempt this bold project, he sailed with a squadron much too weak for the purpose, and reached the road of Santa Cruz, where he learned that the only foundation for the report that had reached the Straits of Gibraltar, was the arrival of a homeward-bound Manilla ship, instead of a colossal galleon. Glory was the sole object of all Nelson's great efforts, so that the intelligence produced no jot of abatement in his ardour for conquest.

While the squadron lay in the roads, a French brig of war was observed lying close to the town, lashed to the mole, and protected by the batteries. Nelson immediately ordered the boats of the *Lively*, Captain Hallowell, and of the *Minerve*, Captain Cockburn, to be manned, and put under the command of Lieutenant Hardy, of the latter vessel, with instructions to cut out the Frenchman. With that alacrity in the execution of orders, and that bravery for action, which recommended him to the intimate friendship of Nelson, Hardy cheerfully prepared, and proceeded on the hazardous enterprise. As the boats approached, the French poured down a volley of musketry, a large vessel at anchor in the harbour discharged her guns at them, and the batteries also opened their fire. The little expedition, however, reached its destination, and the Frenchman was instantly boarded and captured. The firing still continued, with less effect and vigour, from the batteries; the Spaniards looking on the battle as virtually over, and indifferent to the safety of their allies, provided they could protect themselves. Hardy returned triumphantly amidst the cheers of the squadron, towing along his prize, *La Mutine*, as there was not sufficient wind to carry her out of reach of the enemy's guns. For this gallant affair Lieutenant Hardy was immediately advanced to the rank of commander, and appro-

priately placed in the command of the brig, which by his valour was added to the British navy. In this enterprise the English had not a man killed, and only fifteen were wounded, amongst whom was the brave Hardy himself. Lieutenant, (afterwards Admiral) Gage, accompanied Hardy, and supported his bold efforts in a style that reflected the highest honour upon himself. *La Mutine* was bound from Brest to the Isle of France; and when she was boarded, the captain and twenty of the crew were on shore, procuring a supply of fresh water and ship's stores.

In the year 1798, General Buonaparte, satiated with conquest in Europe, directed his ambitious views towards the continent of Africa; and Egypt, perhaps as the shortest way to India, became the object of his arms. To second these visionary views, a fleet was assembled at Toulon, which, the Count de Dumas says, "was composed of 15 sail of the line, 6 frigates, *armée en flûte*, some corvettes, and about 350 transports, with 25,000 men of all arms, and in the highest state of discipline. So great was the impatience of the troops to embark, that the generals had much difficulty in suppressing their murmurs and dissatisfaction at the delays, until the arrival of Buonaparte restored confidence. Civita Vecchia and Genoa were ports of embarkation for this great expedition, as well as Toulon; and it must be acknowledged, that in the secrecy, despatch, and efficiency with which this vast armament was conducted to its final destination, the union of science and prowess in its officers and men, the magnitude of its object, and the extensive consequence of its failure or success, it stands unrivalled in history. Had their object been more consistent with the general standard of right, they would have deserved a better fate. Of all these gallant fellows, how few ever returned to their native land!"

To accomplish the iniquitous purposes of this armada, further accessions daily joined: 36 transports, with upwards of 4000 troops, sailed from Bastia, to unite with the great fleet; Berthier brought with him out of the port of Genoa 150 transports, and the Italian ports furnished two divisions more;

so that when the fleet rendezvoused in the harbour of Cagliari, it included upwards of 400 sail. Crossing the Sicilian Sea, they visited Malta, accepted the surrender of Valetta, which cowardice and treason put into their hands, and in the plenitude of confidence steered for the port of Alexandria.

Intelligence of the escape of the Toulon fleet having reached Lord St. Vincent, he sent orders to Nelson to take 13 sail of the line along with him, and go in search of the enemy. Nelson's commission was full, and unfettered by technicalities: he was authorized to consider as hostile, and deserving to be treated accordingly, any port in the Mediterranean at which supplies might be refused to his fleet, Sardinia excepted; an order exactly in unison with Nelson's feelings, which were to teach all nations to respect the British flag. A wide latitude was also given as to the interpretation of his orders, in pursuit of the French, whom he might pursue up the Adriatic, Grecian Archipelago, and Black Sea; but the other hemisphere, into which he once actually did follow them, was not included. To Nelson this was of little consequence, and Lord St. Vincent perfectly understood the character of the individual to whom he delegated such large powers. In addition to the squadron of 13 sail, Sir Thomas Troubridge had been ordered to join Nelson with additional ships; and on the 20th of May, Captain Hardy was sent, in *La Mutine*, in search of the commodore, to inform him of the intended departure of Troubridge to strengthen his fleet. The intelligence was more welcome to Nelson from the personal regard he entertained for Troubridge, who was one of the most gallant and accomplished sailors in the Mediterranean fleet, than from any idea of the necessity of reinforcements, for his confidence was never higher than when he pursued the Toulon fleet. Unfortunately for the repose of the commodore, the French had obtained the start of him, and, seconded by a stiff breeze, succeeded in making a prosperous beginning of their flight across the Mediterranean.

The disappointment of Nelson at the enemy's escape was extreme, and having no frigates, which he called the "eyes

of the fleet," intelligence was received less often than was necessary for his guidance. With the most intense anxiety he looked around for a man of activity, skill, and determination, who would visit with the utmost rapidity those ports, at which it was probable intelligence of the direction the enemy had taken, might be procured. This trustworthy friend, formed after the pattern of his own vigorous mind, was Hardy, whom he at once despatched in the *Mutine* to Civita Vecchia, and the coast of north Italy, the squadron steering away for Corsica, with the intention of rounding Cape Corso, calling at Elba, and rejoining Hardy off the Tuscan coast. This circuit was taken, and Captain Hardy discharged his duty with unprecedented alacrity; but all in vain, neither Hardy nor the commodore succeeded in obtaining any tidings of the fugitive fleet. Putting Troubridge on board the *Mutine*, he directed him to steer for the bay of Naples: landing there, he was to make inquiries from the British envoy, Sir W. Hamilton, and return with the utmost expedition to the anxious commodore. All the information that could be obtained at Naples was, that the enemy had been seen sailing towards Malta, and that no doubt remained of their intention to touch at that island. This was sufficient, however, to excite the anxious commodore still further, and believing that his prey was almost within his grasp, he crowded all sail, and steered for the Pharo of Messina. He reached those classic waters on the twentieth, and as his fleet passed along their agitated surface, the gentle winds of Sicily wafted to his ears the thousands of blessings of the trembling people that lined the shores.

Passing a few leagues south from Passaro, a Genoese brig hove in sight, which Captain Hardy spoke, and ascertained from her that Malta had surrendered to the enemy, that a French garrison was then securely lodged within the fortress of Valetta, and that the expedition had sailed again from Malta, with a breeze at north-west.

This information, received on the twenty-second, tended to confirm in the strongest manner the first conjectures of the

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commodore, as to the destination of the enemy's fleet, and, pursuing his course for the shores of Egypt, it is supposed that the two hostile fleets must have crossed each other's track on the night of the twenty-third. Nelson was steering for Alexandria as directly as the winds permitted, while the coast of Candia was the more immediate object of the French. The remainder of the run to Alexandria was an anxious period to Captain Hardy, who was actively engaged in watching every vessel that passed up or down the Mediterranean, and endeavouring to obtain from them any clue to the discovery of the lost enemy. He spoke two Alexandrian vessels, outward bound, from which of course no information could be derived.

To the astonishment of the Mussulmans, on the twenty-eighth day of May, 1798, an English fleet entered the harbour of Alexandria, not with the design of levying contributions, or being guilty of any aggression, but, with that majesty that belongs to the British name and character, in search of the enemies of liberty, and for the purpose of relieving the injured and oppressed. Captain Hardy now waited on the governor, and informed him of the meditated invasion of his country by an unprovoked, but ambitious people—of the objects of the British fleet, which were, the annihilation of the armament, and recovery of the countries on the Mediterranean from French domination. The governor expressed surprise and gratitude, and regretted his inability to promote the views of Commodore Nelson by any communication which he could possibly make to him. On Hardy's return from this unsuccessful mission, the fleet steered for the coast of Asia Minor, thence to Candia, and, under a press of sail, returned to Sicily about the middle of July. Several instances are related of Nelson's accurate hydrographical knowledge, and his extraordinary nautical tact in entering harbours that were obstructed by bars, or approached by narrow or tortuous channels. An instance of this kind occurred in the arrival of the fleet off the Sicilian coast. The squadron was about to anchor in the roadstead at Syracuse, as it was generally supposed that the harbour was inaccessible to ships of large draught, but Nelson, without

any previous consultations, or the least doubt of the practicability, led in his fleet, and all were soon anchored in safety in the inner port of Syracuse. Through the personal influence of Lady Hamilton, whose memory enjoys an unenviable preservation in the history of those times, the British fleet received the promised supplies of every sort, and from having here learned where the French had not been seen, it was concluded where they must be, and that the port of Alexandria was a second time to be visited by a British fleet. The French had landed before Nelson arrived, and the French fleet cast anchor in the bay of Aboukir: in that estuary the celebrated engagement took place, commonly called the battle of the Nile, which prostrated the naval power of the French republic, humbled the pride of Buonaparte, and removed an oppressive weight from the Italian kingdoms generally.

The zeal, activity, and seamanship displayed by Captain Hardy during the search for the French fleet were duly appreciated by Nelson; and immediately after the battle of Aboukir, he was made post into the Vanguard, 74, bearing Nelson's flag, and the Admiralty confirmed his commission on the 2d of October, 1798.

Now the chosen companion of Nelson's fortunes, he accompanied the hero upon his shifting his flag into the Foudroyant, of 80 guns, which Hardy continued to command until the 12th of October, 1799. From Sicily the commodore sailed to Naples, where he appears to have been so spell-bound by the fascinations of an artful woman, that he was not merely a participator, but the actual person who committed a black and unpardonable crime. "Here," says Captain Brenton, "we see the high character of England blasted by the breath of a revengeful woman; and the British flag covering the dark deed, breaking a sacred agreement, and giving up its confiding victims to the executioner."

The reader is already acquainted with the reprehensible conduct of Lord Nelson in the trial and execution of Carraccioli; but as the account given of that infamous transaction is contained in the valuable memoirs of his friendly biographers,

we subjoin the statement of a naval officer, written and published when Lady Hamilton, and those implicated in the transaction, were as cold and as insensible as their victim—and one who could have no possible interest in misrepresenting the circumstances.*

“Carraccioli, after the violation of Captain Foote’s treaty, concealed himself. Discovered by the cowardly flatterers attached to the royal persons, he was taken in the disguise of a peasant, and brought on board the *Foudroyant*, with his hands tied behind him. Captain Hardy beheld with indignation this unworthy treatment, and directed him immediately to be unbound, and to be treated with all those attentions which he felt due to a man, who, the last time he had been on board that ship, had been received as an admiral and a prince. The poor man, who was in his fiftieth year, was in extreme wretchedness. He averred that he would have been true to his master, had his master been true to himself.” . . . ‘I would willingly be spared the pain of relating the sequel,’ says Captain Brenton, “but it is a story peculiarly belonging to naval history. It was 9 o’clock in the morning, when he was brought on board the *Foudroyant*, whose deck and flag were polluted by the scene. Nelson *wrote an order for his trial*, which commenced at ten—at twelve he was declared guilty—and at five he was hanged at the yard-arm of the *Minerva*, a Neapolitan frigate.

“Carraccioli had no counsel, no time to collect witnesses, and was tried by a court composed of his avowed enemies. He requested Lieutenant Parkinson, who had charge of him, to intercede, if possible, to obtain a new trial; but Nelson, who had ordered the first, ‘*could not* interfere,’ to grant a second.

“He then begged to be shot; but this humble request was also refused. Lady Hamilton, from whose former acquaintance he hoped to gain this favour, was not to be found, being concealed in her cabin during the interval between the trial and execution. At the last fatal scene she was present, and seems to have enjoyed the sight. While the body was yet hanging,

* Vide Brenton’s *Naval History of Great Britain*, vol. i, p. 483.

at the yard-arm of the frigate, 'Come,' said she, 'come, Bronte, let us take the barge, and have another look at Carraccioli!' The barge was manned, and they rowed round the frigate, and satiated their eyes with the appalling spectacle. I have heard that Lady Hamilton, in her last moments, uttered the most agonizing screams of repentance, for this act of cruelty. The prince was ever before her eyes; she could not endure to be in the dark, and left the world a sad, but useful, example of the fatal effects of revenge, and of unbridled licentiousness."

It does not appear that Captain Hardy interfered on behalf of the injured prince, farther than by prohibiting the infliction of torture or insult while on board his ship.* This whole transaction is detrimental to the fame of Nelson, and confirmatory of the narrative as regards the insatiable vengeance of Lady Hamilton. Hardy possessed much personal influence over Lord Nelson, had been employed by him on occasions of the highest importance, requiring secrecy, courage, and prudence—he had but just returned from a negotiation with the Bashaw of Tripoli, in Lord Nelson's name—his ship had conveyed the royal family from Palermo to Naples, and his kindness to his illustrious passengers was so marked, that the admiral spoke of it in his despatches to the Admiralty. Those despatches accompanying the still more welcome one, announcing the glorious victory of the Nile, were communicated to Earl St. Vincent by Captain Berry, who was selected for that purpose, and when that officer joined from England, Captain Hardy was appointed *pro tempore* to the Princess Charlotte frigate.

His friend and commander Nelson had at this period just become engaged in a variety of feelings and private objects, some of which embittered his peace of mind for the remainder of his life, and tarnished his private character. He expected the command of the Mediterranean fleet upon the return of Earl St. Vincent, and he disliked Lord Keith, who was appointed to succeed to the high commission: Sir Sidney Smith, too, was sent out to take the command of the squadron of the Nile, and

* This influential friend and amiable man perceived the complete inutilty of any attempt to avert the death of Carraccioli, and took no further part in the infamous business.

with such directions as left it in ambiguity, whether he was to act independently of Nelson. These grounds of displeasure produced a disgust for any further service on that station, in the hero's mind, which Earl St. Vincent vainly endeavoured to remove. There was unfortunately another argument operating upon Nelson's decisions, an insensible attraction influencing him at the same moment, which induced him to resign his command, obstinately opposing his most faithful friends, and return to England; and this was the fatal fascination of Lady Hamilton. Her much-abused husband had just been recalled from his commission at Naples, and Nelson was so spell-bound by the society of his syren-wife, that he determined on returning with them to England. Abandoning his proper element, and his brave companions, he journeyed across Germany to Hamburgh, where he embarked for his native country, accompanied by his faithful friends, Sir William and Lady Hamilton. Most happily for his feelings as a gentleman, as a friend of Nelson, and as one who was fully sensible of his value to his country at that momentous period, Hardy remained steady at the helm, until his ship was ordered home.

In the commencement of the year 1800, Captain Hardy returned to England, and was kindly and generously introduced and recommended by Nelson to the Duke of Clarence, afterwards William IVth. In the letter of introduction Nelson styled his friend "an officer of distinguished merit." Nelson had long been on terms of affectionate intimacy with his royal highness, and his desire that Hardy should be introduced to that illustrious person is a most convincing proof of the ardent friendship he then entertained for his flag-captain.

Destined to be the shipmate of the immortal Nelson, until the close of his brief earthly existence, Hardy served as his flag-captain in the *Namur* and *San Josef*, in the year 1800. At this period the sovereigns in the north of Europe entered into a compact called an "armed neutrality," which, if permitted to operate for any length of time, would tend to the subversion of the British sovereignty of the seas. To this unjust and unwise convention the court of Denmark acceded and instead of a candid reply to the remonstrances of Mr

Drummond, the British minister, returned only evasive answers. In such negotiations it were worse than needless to consume the time of public officers, and England, during the month of December, 1800, was actively employed in preparations for a naval expedition.

This powerful armament was placed under the command of an officer whose bodily infirmities, and advanced age, were sufficient to have disqualified him for any active duty, had his mental abilities even been equal to so important a charge; but his predominant personal influence with his political party obtained for Sir Hyde Parker the command of the expedition to Copenhagen at this period. Several officers of rank and reputation consented to serve under him; Admiral Graves in the *Defiance*, 74 guns; Admiral Tottay in the *Invincible*, 74 guns, which was lost on the Cromer ridge, when 400 of her crew found a watery grave; and the brave Nelson, in the *St. George* of 98 guns, to which he had shifted his flag from the *San Josef*, along with his flag-captain, Hardy. In the selection of a commander, the minister proved superior to the king, who openly declared that it was to Nelson, and to him only, that himself and his people virtually and anxiously looked for the success of the expedition. In this sentiment his majesty had the cordial concurrence of the Earl of St. Vincent, who understood the adventurous character and unclouded mind of the hero better than any other officer in the naval service. This just preference, which the sovereign and the people would have given to Nelson, was soon shown to be properly directed, for scarcely had the fleet anchored, and received the refusal of the governor of Cronenburg Castle to suffer them to pass unmolested, than he commenced his fearless reconnoitering of the forts and city. Having laid in a sufficient supply of local knowledge to enable him to act effectively, Nelson immediately volunteered to attack the fort from the southward. The difficulties and the dangers of this attempt were greater than the admiral commanding was aware of, but Nelson's precaution was equal to his pre-eminent courage, and having first directed Hardy to shift his flag into the *Elephant*, 74 guns, a vessel carrying a

much lighter draught of water than the *St. George*, he ordered a careful survey to be made of the waters in which the dreadful action was afterwards fought. This was a service of no ordinary kind; courage and coolness were requisite to its perfect execution, as the safety of the squadron might have depended upon the accuracy of the report. The well-known intrepidity of Captain Hardy at once recommended him to Nelson's judgment, and, desiring his brave flag-captain to take one of the ship's boats, he dismissed him, during the darkness of midnight, upon the dangerous duty. On the night preceding the action, Hardy advanced towards the enemy's fleet, making careful soundings all the way, and when he reached their leading vessel, he rowed round her, using a pole to try the depths, that he might not be discovered. Having completed his task, he returned to the *Elephant*, and reported the practicability of the channel up to the enemy's line. This report was not strictly abided by, the consequence of which was that three of our ships, the *Russell* and the *Bellona*, 74 guns, and the *Agamemnon*, 64 guns, took the ground on their way into action, the two former within range of the Crown batteries, the last fortunately out of gun-shot. Every effort appears to have been used by Captain Hardy in sounding, and, under Nelson's orders, in buoying off the channel, but the sufferers neglected to pay that respect to the accuracy of Captain Hardy's survey, to which, from his character for scientific seamanship, it was justly entitled. The deplorable events of this too memorable action have been minutely detailed in our life of the great naval hero by whom the victory was won; one circumstance, however, related by a naval historian, relative to this battle, deserves admission here, as the subject of this brief memoir was one of the injured officers there alluded to.

"One singularity attending this celebrated action, seems to have escaped public notice—the denial of any mark of royal approbation to Nelson and his captains. Rear-Admiral Graves was created a knight of the Bath; the first lieutenants of the ships of the line in action, promoted to the rank of commanders; and the usual thanks of parliament voted; but no

medals were given, nor other honours conferred. I can only account for the omission by supposing his majesty, nearly allied by ties of blood to the crown of Denmark, wished to bury the unhappy quarrel in oblivion: but Nelson, to the hour of his death, complained of the injustice done to his captains at Copenhagen."*

After the battle of Copenhagen, Sir Hyde Parker sailed for Carlsrona, in search of the Swedish fleet, committing the care of the inactive ships, and the duty of superintending the refitting the damaged ones, to Lord Nelson. The preposterous nature of such an arrangement struck the mind of Nelson so forcibly, that he lost no time in redeeming the folly. Having satisfied himself that Sir Hyde actually meditated further hostilities in the Northern Seas, and concurring that there was no man in the British navy better adapted for such service than himself, he quitted the Elephant, and in an open boat, without even the protection of a cloak, rowed to the St. George, in which once more he hoisted his flag, and directing Hardy to convey him safely over the shoals which he had so recently sounded, on the 19th of April appeared with his fleet off Carlsrona. The assassination of the ill-fated emperor Paul dissolved partially the northern confederation, and as the hopes of acquiring additional glory in his country's cause were, in consequence, dissipated, Sir Hyde Parker resigned his command into the able hands of Nelson, and returned to England. The squadron also put back to Kiøge bay, whence Nelson addressed a farewell memorandum to his companions, and set sail for England, with his flag-captain, Hardy, in the St. George: this step he was induced to take, not merely in consequence of the prospect of returning peace, but because his health had materially suffered from the severity of a northern climate.

His high character for courage and seamanship, and the personal interest which his noble friend Nelson felt in his promotion and happiness, soon procured a ship for the gallant subject of this memoir, and before the expiration of the year 1801 (August 31,) he was commissioned to the *Isis* of fifty guns

* Vide Brenton's Naval History, Vol. I. p. 533.

Hardy had the pleasure of conveying the royal family of Naples over the waters of the Mediterranean; he was now employed to carry, in the *Isis*, a member of our own royal family, the Duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria, across the broad Atlantic, to Gibraltar, of which place that prince had been appointed governor in the commencement of the year 1802. From the *Isis* Captain Hardy was removed, on the 11th of July, 1802, to the *Amphion* frigate, of 32 guns, which was likewise employed on a mission of state, to convey Lord Robert Fitzgerald, brother to the Duke of Leinster, to Lisbon, that nobleman having been appointed our ambassador at the Portuguese court.

On the 16th of May, 1803, intelligence of a fresh rupture with the French was communicated to the nation by a royal message to both houses of parliament, and as it was of vital consequence to this country, that the navy of France should be crippled—that all ports that continued friendly should have the benefit of our protection—and that our marine supremacy should be carefully preserved, the command of the fleet in the Mediterranean was the first and most serious subject for the consideration of parliament and the country. That the English nation was unanimous in its choice of a admiral for their principal fleet, is sufficiently obvious from the fact of Lord Nelson having been appointed to that great trust only two days subsequent to the declaration of war. Our fleet in the Mediterranean, at that period, included ten sail of the line under the command of Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Bickerton, in the *Kent* of 74 guns. This force being deemed insufficient for that service, on the 18th of May, 1803, Lord Nelson hoisted the British flag on board his old ship, the *Victory*, of one hundred guns, in Portsmouth harbour, and sailed from Spithead on the twentieth at five in the afternoon. Captain George Murray, who led into action so gallantly at Copenhagen, went out in the *Victory* as captain of the fleet, and Captain S. Sutton as second captain in command of the ship.

The vice-admiral's ship was accompanied by the *Amphion* frigate, Captain Thomas M. Hardy, and both vessels steered in the first instance for Ushant point, in search of the fleet off

Brest, to offer the assistance of the *Victory* to Admiral Cornwallis, if it should be required, in which case the vice-admiral was to proceed to his destination in the *Amphion*. A hard gale had driven the British fleet from its station, and Nelson becoming impatient of delay, the *Victory* was ordered to await the return of Admiral Cornwallis to the rendezvous of the Channel fleet, while his lordship shifted his flag on board the *Amphion*, and made sail on the evening of the twenty-third with a fair wind. Accompanied by inconstant weather, the *Amphion* pursued her voyage, and anchored in the Straits of Gibraltar on the third of June. On the following day she was again under way, and proceeded to Malta, and thence to Naples, in hopes of coming up with the squadron, but was there informed that Sir Richard had sailed for Toulon. Notwithstanding a continuance of foul weather, the *Amphion* made a fair passage, and Nelson reached his old cruising ground on the eighth of July, where he found Sir Richard and the Mediterranean fleet. Nelson continued on board the *Amphion* in preference to removing into a larger ship, under the impression that the *Victory* would, in all probability, be detained as an auxiliary to the Channel fleet; but scarcely had these two vessels parted, when the *Victory* fell in with Admiral Cornwallis, and, after a detention of only a few hours, was permitted to follow Lord Nelson to the Mediterranean. On the 30th of June, after touching at Malta, this fine vessel joined the Mediterranean squadron a few leagues west from Cape Sicily, when Nelson shifted his flag to his favourite ship, taking Captain Hardy along with him, who exchanged places with Captain S. Sutton.

From this period Captain Hardy is to be considered as the chosen friend and affectionate companion of the renowned commander, until the death of that distinguished hero in the arms of victory; the memoirs of Hardy, therefore, for two whole years, are identical with those of his noble friend; and a portion of the successes which attended the fighting of the ship is justly due to the favourite flag-captain of the great admiral.

On many occasions Lord Nelson evinced an impatience that has been considered as irreconcilable with magnanimity, but the secret workings of his soul have not been received into the account or analysis of character, for we find the same individual, while employed in watching the French fleet, off Toulon, display the most unexampled patience and forbearance, and never betray the smallest symptom of inquietude or disappointment. Soon after Nelson and his flag-captain* had joined the fleet, a supply of water was required by the crews, and the Victory steering for Agincourt Sound, reached that anchorage in safety, during tempestuous weather, in dark nights, and on a passage that was intricate and rocky. Returning from the Madelena Islands, Nelson found the French fleet in the outer road at Toulon, presenting an appearance precisely similar to that in which he had left them when he sailed about a month before, while his squadron received an accession of strength by the arrival of the Excellent, 74 guns, Captain Sotheron.

** Services of Captain Hardy, from his first Entrance into the Navy, to the Battle of Trafalgar.*

Helena	from	30 Nov., 1781	Officer's Servant,	to	9 April, 1782.
Seaford	—	30 April, 1782	—	—	26 April, 1783.
Carnatic	—	24 Jan., 1784	—	—	16 Oct., 1785.
Hebe	—	5 Feb., 1790	Midshipman	—	7 Dec., 1790.
—	—	8 Dec., 1790	Master's Mate	—	5 March, 1792.
Tisiphone	—	6 March, 1792	Able	—	16 Oct., 1792.
—	—	17 Oct., 1792	Midshipman	—	23 May, 1793.
Amphitrite	—	24 May, 1793	—	—	26 Nov., 1793.
Meleager	—	27 Nov., 1793	Lieutenant	—	19 Aug., 1796.
La Minerve	—	20 Aug., 1796	—	—	15 June, 1797.
Mutine	—	16 June, 1797	Commander	—	3 July, 1798.
Vanguard	—	4 Aug., 1798*	Captain	—	7 June, 1799.
Foudroyante	—	8 June, 1799*	—	—	12 Oct., 1799.
Princess Charlotte	—	14 Oct., 1799	—	—	10 Nov., 1799.
Namur	—	21 Nov., 1800*	—	—	27 Dec., 1800.
San Josef	—	28 Dec., 1800*	—	—	10 Feb., 1801.
St. George	—	11 Feb., 1801*	—	—	17 Aug., 1801.
Isis	—	31 Aug., 1801	—	—	21 June, 1802.
Amphion	—	11 July, 1802	—	—	30 July, 1803.
Victory	—	31 July, 1803*	—	—	15 Jan., 1806.

Lord Nelson's flag-ships

The time consumed in patient watching was not quite unprofitably passed; the Dey of Algiers having acted with duplicity, was visited by the *Superb*, 74 guns, and the arguments of her captain still further strengthened by the appearance of Nelson's fleet in the offing. The year 1804 was passed in what may be called idle demonstrations; but the enemy lost not a single hour in increasing their naval strength in the Mediterranean, by building and launching vessels of large tonnage, and by collecting all their maritime force that could be spared from other stations at the rendezvous of Toulon. Slight actions were fought between detached ships, without any definite result, or serious loss to either party; and on one occasion fourteen sail of the enemy's ships appeared standing off and on between Cape Sepet and Porquerolles, which Nelson approached with only three sail; the British did not advance too far, and the French, having shown their strength, returned into port. This movement the French admiral, Latouche Treville, thought worthy of official notice, and forwarded a despatch to Paris, accusing Nelson of having "ran away." Such gasconade and trifling was common during the republican government, and favourably received by the French nation. This redoubted admiral did not long survive this foolish calumny, having died, on board the *Bucentaur*, on the night of the 18th of August.

The British fleet continued its wearisome watching; Nelson with part of his squadron visiting occasionally the secure anchorage in Agincourt Sound. Early in the month of November, on Nelson's return to his station, Villeneuve, the successor of La Touche Treville, hoisted his flag on board the *Bucentaur*; and 3,500 troops, under General Lauriston, were embarked in the enemy's fleet for some intended expedition. No vigilance could have prevented the escape of the fleet of Villeneuve, which stole out of the harbour of Toulon on the 17th of January, 1805, and sailed with a stiff breeze from the north-west. Cautiously as their exit was effected, it was seen by "the eyes of Nelson's fleet," the *Active* and *Seahorse* frigates. These useful appendages of his squadron kept the enemy in view until they were themselves within signal dis-

tance of the Sound of Agincourt, where they communicated the news of the French fleet being at sea. This was welcome news to Nelson, and, sailing in search of his detested foes, he exhibited the same agitation and anxiety that was always observed to affect him on the eve of those tremendous enterprises which he courted and performed. In his haste to get to sea from the Gulf of Palma, into which his fleet had been almost driven by the severity of the weather, he desired Captain Hardy to take the Victory through the narrow channel that separates the island of Vache from the main. It was Nelson's impression, as we have elsewhere shown, that the enemy steered for the coast of Egypt, and the French newspapers inserted false paragraphs relating to the destination of their fleet, in order to deceive the British admiral. Having passed many anxious days in this fruitless chase, it was then found, from veritable information, that Villeneuve had passed the Straits of Gibraltar, and that our West Indian possessions constituted the main object of the expedition. The wings of the wind seemed to flap too slowly for the impatient temperament of the British admiral, who crowded every sail as he passed out of the Straits before a propitious levanter. A hot pursuit of the enemy's fleet now took place, and Nelson was as unfortunate in his exertions to come up with them in the West Indies, as he had been in the waters of the olden world. Villeneuve, unconscious that he was so closely followed, committed some depredations on our island possessions, and at least rendered his expedition memorable by his capture of "the Diamond rock."

* This famous rock is situated at the entrance of Marin bay, about one mile from the Isle of Martinique. Its highest point is five hundred feet above the sea, the cliffs hanging completely over on one side, and all round is deep water. Approach is dangerous, owing to the number of caves which penetrate the base, from which the returning surge keeps the waters close round the rock in a constant state of agitation. In the year 1803, Commander Sir Samuel Hood converted this insulated rock into a *dépôt*, or *stationary cruiser*, where boats might lie to harass the enemy's trade. Captain Brenton gives the following description of the difficulty that attended the transport of ordnance to the rock, and the perseverance of our brave tars in the formation of batteries upon it. "Having mounted its crumbling sides, rarely, perhaps never, before trodden

Having accomplished this single feat of heroism, they were in an instant deprived of all feeling of enjoyment in their success, by the report that Nelson was in search of them with a well-equipped fleet. With half the number of ships, Villeneuve dared not meet a man whose presence "double-manned the fleet," but the captains of the merchant vessels that fell into the enemy's hands, to alarm and get rid of the French from that hemisphere, exaggerated in their accounts of the English squadron. Nothing was now thought of in Villeneuve's fleet, but a quick return to Europe; and perhaps in the eleventh hour, when death from the hand of Nelson seemed impending, the French admiral thought of Ferrol, which it is supposed was the real object of the expedition—the West Indian voyage, and those false attacks upon our islands and rocks in that part of the globe, being merely a *ruse*, to divert the English fleet from the Channel. In this way, however, that is, by the terror of Nelson's name, our colonies were preserved from capture and pillage, and 400 of our merchant-vessels saved from becoming prizes to the combined fleet. Nelson, frustrated in all his expectations, returned much disheartened, and, touching at Gibraltar (where he planted his foot on shore for the first time during two years wanting ten days, and where he learned, for the first

by man, our enterprising officers and men succeeded in carrying up a line, and, ultimately a stream-cable of the Centaur, which was firmly moored by the side of the rock; and with one end of this cable clinched round a projecting rock, and the other on board the ship, a communication was established from one to the other. To the cable a traveller was affixed, similar in principle to that which children put on the string of a kite: to this a 21-pounder was attached, and by means of tackles conveyed to the top of the rock; two others followed, and two long 18-pounders. Were you to see, observed an eye-witness, the sailors hanging in clusters, hauling up a 24-pounder by hawsers, you would wonder: they appear like mice hauling a little sausage: scarcely can we hear the governor on the top directing them with his trumpet, the Centaur lying close under it, like a cocoa-shell, to which the hawsers are fixed." On the 1st of March, 1804, Lieutenant Maurice of the Centaur, with 120 officers and men, took possession of the rock, supplied with four months' provisions and water. At first the enemy blockaded the rock, but becoming impatient and ashamed, they brought up their whole squadron to assail it. After a most determined resistance, Maurice capitulated, having obtained terms highly honourable to the garrison."—Vide *Brenton's, James's*, and the *Naval Chronicle*.

time, any certain intelligence of the enemy's movements,) he proceeded towards Ushant point, where he joined Admiral Lord Cornwallis, and heard a confirmation of the state, and then unprofitable account of Villeneuve, which had been just communicated to him at Gibraltar. On the evening of the 15th of August the Victory and Superb sailed for Portsmouth; the same day on which they joined the Channel fleet, the Belleisle left for Plymouth, but the remainder of Nelson's fleet continued with Admiral Cornwallis. On the 18th, both the first-named vessels anchored off Spithead; and Lord Nelson, accompanied by his flag-captain, proceeded immediately to London; and the former having presented himself to his Sovereign and to the Admiralty, repaired to his villa at Merton in Surrey. During the few hours that he passed at his favourite retreat, he had the happiness of receiving the congratulations of his friends, and the unanimous applause of his countrymen at the boldness of his conduct in pursuing the enemy to the West Indies.

It was at the commencement of the month of September, when Nelson had not passed three weeks at his villa, that Captain Blackwood, as he journeyed from Portsmouth to London, called at Merton, and informed the admiral of Villeneuve's activity, of the combined fleets being completely refitted, and of its arrival off Cadiz. This intelligence was enough, more than enough, to arm Nelson for the fight, and while he was in the act of denouncing all Frenchmen, and expressing his ardent desire to be afloat once more, letters arrived from the Admiralty, calling upon him to resume the high command he held, and interpose the shield of his powerful services for the preservation of his country.

Captain Hardy was now for the last time directed to get the Victory ready for sea; and on the 14th of September, 1805, the coffin which Captain Hallowell had presented was put on board, and the admiral himself arrived at Portsmouth, where thousands pressed forward to take a farewell look, and many were observed to shed tears at his departure, from a feeling that that was their last adieu to the greatest naval hero England ever saw. On the following day the Victory put to sea from

St. Helen's, and as she passed Plymouth, was joined by the Ajax and the Thunderer, and pursuing her course arrived off Cadiz on the 29th. From this date until that memorable day, when "God gave us victory, but Nelson died," Captain Hardy was the constant associate, the inalienable friend, the confidential coadjutor, of the immortal Nelson, so that their histories are as inseparable as was their existence. The conspicuous part which the Victory bore in the battle of Trafalgar, need not be repeated here: she took the lead when the Temeraire and Leviathan had been ordered to precede her, owing to the anxiety of the admiral to get into action. Both those ships endeavoured to lead according to orders, but found it quite impossible, unless Nelson would consent to shorten sail; but no one dared to suggest such an arrangement—and, so far from lessening the quantity of canvass spread out to the winds, his lordship expressed some anger at the lower-studding sails of the Victory not being set in time.

Never was a more dreadful scene of slaughter than that which occurred on the deck of the Victory, and in the very midst of which Nelson and Hardy stood, while the former coolly delivered his orders. Secretary Scott was killed as he stood in conversation with Hardy, and at the same instant eight marines fell dead on the poop. While Nelson and his flag-captain stood side by side upon deck, a shot passed between them; on which the admiral observed, that this was too warm work to last long. Yet in this position they both remained for several minutes, exposed to the fire of more than half the enemy's line. Before the Victory returned a shot, she had twenty men killed, and above thirty wounded.

Hardy being ordered to pass through the enemy's line, replied, that it was impossible, without going on board of the Bucentaur or Redoubtable, and asked which it was the Admiral's desire should be the chosen ship; to which Nelson replied, "Take your choice, go on board of which you please." Never, says a modern historian, since the naval empire was contended for by us, had a battle been fought with such determined courage, such undaunted contempt of death; scarcely a man

on the poop, quarter-deck, and fore-castle of the Victory, but was either killed or wounded." When the fatal shot that deprived England of one of the greatest heroes recorded in her history, took effect, Serjeant-Major Secker ran to his assistance, and was in the act of raising him from the deck, when Captain Hardy approached, exhibiting the utmost anxiety at the event, and inquiring where he was hit. Nelson replied, "Ah, Hardy, they have done it at last." "I hope not, Sir," said Hardy, "Yes," answered the hero, "my back-bone is shot through." When the great admiral was wounded, he fell almost instantly upon his face, and the spot which was stained with his blood is now marked by a brass plate inserted in the deck of the Victory. He was now removed to the cockpit, and, while wrung by the agonies of death, he called out frequently, "Will no one bring Hardy to me? He must be killed: I am certain he is dead." At length the captain, on whom, by the rules of the service, the duty of commander-in-chief had fallen, exchanged, for a few minutes, his public for his private duties, and came down to the cockpit to console the few remaining moments of his friend's existence. "How goes the day, Hardy?" inquired the hero. "Very well, my lord," he replied, "we have got ten or twelve of the enemy's ships in our possession; but their van has tacked, and shows an intention of bearing down on the Victory: I have therefore called two or three of our best ships about us, and have no doubt of giving them a drubbing." After the lapse of 50 minutes, Hardy returned to the cockpit to inquire after the admiral, with further intelligence, adding that 14 or 15 sail at least of the enemy were captured. "Ah," said the Admiral, "I bargained for 20 sail." He then desired Hardy to anchor, upon which the captain inquired whether Lord Collingwood should not then take the command, "Not while I live, I hope," answered Nelson; "do you anchor; Hardy, make the signal," added the Admiral, "for if I live, I will anchor."

The substance of the preceding conversation between Nelson and his faithful friend, has been given in the life of Admiral Lord Nelson, and that it is correct in its general features no

no doubt can possibly exist; but that something also had been suppressed by his biographers, Clarke and M^cArthur, who were his personal friends, there is equal reason to imagine. His infatuated attachment to Lady Hamilton, his unfeeling desertion of an amiable wife, his life at Merton, passed in the society of his syren—his adopted daughter, whom he had named in his will—these, and more than these considerations, must have arisen in the hero's mind, as his spirit was about to wing its flight into the regions of eternity. Had he not been visited by some feelings of tenderness for those that were dear to him in life, he would indeed have been more than mortal. But a late writer, Dr. Southey, has described the dying moments of our hero with more fidelity, uninfluenced by any other motives than the desire of communicating truth; and the biography of Captain Hardy would be imperfect, in an important incident, if the last requests of Nelson, as far as they are or can be known, were not given fully in this place. The following extracts, therefore, from Dr. Southey's *Life of Nelson*, are introduced with the view of placing every act of Captain Hardy's before the reader, that the example of that brave and bold officer, yet mild and kind-hearted man, may not be eclipsed by the splendour of those who shone in the same atmosphere with him.

When Hardy had assured his admiral, that there was no fear of any of our ships striking to the enemy, "then, and not till then," says Dr. Southey, "Nelson spoke of himself: 'I am a dead man, Hardy,' said he. 'I am going fast,—it will be all over with me soon. Come nearer to me.—Let my dear Lady Hamilton have my hair, and all other things belonging to me.' Upon Beatty's inquiry, whether his pain was very great? he replied, 'So great, that I wish I was dead, yet,' said he in a lower tone, 'one would like to live a little longer too!' and in a few minutes after, in the same subdued tone, he added, 'What would become of poor Lady Hamilton, if she knew my situation,'—next to his country, she occupied his thoughts. After he had desired Hardy to anchor, he called him back, and said, in a low tone, 'Don't throw me overboard, I should wish to be

buried by my parents, unless it should please the king to order otherwise.' Then reverting to his private feelings—'Take care of my dear Lady Hamilton, Hardy: take care of poor Lady Hamilton.—Kiss me, Hardy,' said he. Hardy knelt down, and kissed his cheek: and Nelson said, 'Now I am satisfied. Thank God, I have done my duty.' Hardy stood over him in silence for a moment or two, then knelt again, and kissed his forehead. 'Who is that?' said Nelson; and being informed, he replied, 'God bless you, Hardy.' And Hardy then left him, for ever.

"Nelson now desired to be turned on his right side, and said, 'I wish I had not left the deck, for I shall soon be gone: Death was indeed rapidly approaching. He said to the chaplain, 'Doctor, I have *not* been a *great* sinner.' and after a short pause, 'remember that I leave Lady Hamilton and my daughter Horatia as a legacy to my country.' His articulation now became difficult; but he was distinctly heard to say, 'Thank God, I have done my duty.' These words he repeatedly pronounced, and they were the last which he uttered.'"

Such is the account of the conversation between Nelson and Hardy, given by Dr. Southey, whose accuracy as an historian is acknowledged as often as it is tested. Having followed closely the valuable text of Clarke and M'Arthur's work, he has ventured to differ from those eye-witnesses of Nelson's achievements in a few instances, and this, in which Captain Hardy sustained a painful and conspicuous part, is one of the deviations; and the additional words, those which had reference to Lady Hamilton and her daughter, appeared to have been furnished by Dr. Beatty's work.

The deeds of death that were done in the memorable battle off Trafalgar, have been already detailed in the biography of the hero of the day; the conclusion of that terrible action will be found related in our memoir of Admiral Lord Collingwood.

Upon Nelson's being wounded, Hardy instantly despatched Lieutenant Hill to Vice-Admiral Collingwood with the information; and, when the hero had expired, Hardy, personally, communicated that melancholy news, and the nature of

Nelson's last orders to the new commander of the fleet, on board the Royal Sovereign.

As captain of the Victory, the melancholy duty devolved upon Captain Hardy of preserving the remains of his illustrious commander, and, as soon as his ship was rendered safe for the voyage, of proceeding to that country, where his name will be honoured whilst her history is preserved.

On the 28th of October, the Victory, towed by the Neptune, reached Gibraltar, where the utmost expedition was used in refitting and rendering her sea-worthy. The activity of her Captain, although much absorbed in sorrow, was seldom more conspicuous than in his efforts to prepare for sea, and on the 4th of November his ship was again afloat, and in tolerable condition.*

On the 4th of November the Victory sailed in company with the Belleisle, and joined Admiral Collingwood off Cadiz, on the 5th, but parting company the same day, she resumed her melancholy voyage, and arrived off St. Helen's on the 4th of the following month. Captain Hardy here received orders to proceed to the Nore; and, sailing again on the 10th of December, as he crossed the flats from Margate, he was boarded by Commissioner Grey's yacht, the Chatham, which had been despatched by the Admiralty board to receive, from Captain Hardy, the body of our great naval hero, and convey

* When the Victory returned to England, she, of course, underwent a more substantial repair, and the veneration in which her shattered timbers were held, may be concluded from the following anecdote related by Captain Brenton in his naval history. "In visiting the palace and magnificent apartments of Windsor Castle, I have been much struck with the appropriate compliment paid by our sovereign (William IV.) to the memory of his favourite naval hero. In the armoury stands, on the right hand, the bust of Wellington, facing that of Marlborough: on the left, and in the centre of the recess at the head of the room, surrounded by a neat iron rail, stands the bust of Nelson, on a portion of the foremast of the Victory. The nature of the pedestal, the black hoops which bind it together, and the tremendous shot-hole with which it is perforated, all combine to give it an indescribable interest in the museum of a British monarch: nor will the nautical observer overlook the *horse-shoe* nailed on the fore-part of the foremast: this is ever done by sailors, either for "good luck," or, as I have heard some of them say, "to drive away the witches."—Vol. ii.

it thence to Greenwich Hospital. The flag of Nelson was now struck on board the *Victory* for the last time, and raised but half-mast high on board the yacht, which proceeded to its destination, the *Victory* pursuing her course to the Nore, and finally into the repairing dock at Chatham.

The Captain of the *Victory*, Nelson's chosen companion, his flag-captain in his last, greatest, best victory, had still a mournful, but honourable duty to perform to the memory of his friend; 'his was to attend his ashes to the tomb in which they were to be enshrined by a sorrowing and grateful people. In the splendid public funeral with which Admiral Nelson's remains were honoured, Captain Hardy was appointed to a share in the ceremony in the highest degree complimentary, and peculiarly gratifying to his own feelings as the bosom-friend of the illustrious dead, namely, to carry the banner of emblems before the relations of the late admiral.

For a short period only, were the meritorious services of Captain Hardy overlooked by his country, that period only during which their sorrow was too recent and too real to permit of any other recollection than that of Nelson from occupying their thoughts. But, no sooner had his memory obtained that immortality which belongs to the truly great, than their mind resumed that tone of resignation and gratitude that best became a christian people. The services of the brave fellows who fought under Nelson were now taken into consideration, and Captain Hardy, amongst the most conspicuous, was created a Baronet of the United Kingdom.

In the early part of 1806, Captain Sir Thomas Masterman Hardy, Bart., was appointed to the *Triumph*, 74 guns, and sailed from Plymouth, with the squadron under the command of Sir Richard James Strachan, on the 19th of May. The object of keeping this armament on the ocean was to meet and destroy the fleet under Rear-Admiral Willaumez, which had sailed from Brest, and been much injured by a hurricane. The duty of the *Halifax* station, to which the *Triumph* was commissioned, differed very materially from the service in the Mediterranean; in the latter sea the British fleet had an enemy worthy

of their great renown, on the North American station the preservation of discipline, and witnessing of actions between detached and smaller vessels, constituted the principal duty of the captain of men-of-war.

Two French seventy-fours, the *Patriote* and the *Eole*, having out-weathered the hurricane, found an asylum, in their crippled state, in one of the Chesapeake rivers, and, after a pause of some days, passed into the harbour of Anapolis. There they were blockaded for a considerable time by Captain Hardy in the *Triumph*, and Captain Douglas in the *Bellona*, who continued to watch their movements, until recalled by the admiral. No opportunity of acquiring distinction occurred to the brave subject of this memoir during this blockade; on the contrary, he was harassed exceedingly by the desertion of his men, some of whom, fond of novelty, and disliking inaction, escaped, and enlisted in the American land-service.

A desperate frigate-action was fought on the 10th of November, 1808, between the *Thetis* and *Amethyst*, which terminated in the capture of the former; but, while the combatants were still entangled, the *Triumph* hove in sight under a heavy press of sail, and Captain Hardy, finding that the *Amethyst* had three feet of water in her hold, while her prize, the *Thetis*, was in a shattered condition, directed that the prisoners should be removed on board the *Shannon* frigate, which had joined immediately after the *Triumph*. This humane interposition was not only according to the dictates of his own kindly heart, but also after the manner of his late illustrious master.

At the opening of the year 1809, a French squadron of eight sail of the line appeared in the road off Brest, an opportunity of coming out being afforded them by the prevalence of easterly winds, which had driven Lord Gambier from the Ushant station. On the 21st of February, Admiral Willaumez weighed, and sailed with a northerly wind; and just as his rear-most ship had doubled the Vendee rock, and the squadron stood for the Raz passage, in line of battle, they were descried by the English 74-gun ship, the *Revenge*, Captain the Honourable Charles Paget. This officer immediately proceeded to Glenans, in order to communicate the intelligence to Captain

Beresford, then in the command of a squadron of three sail, the *Theseus*, *Valiant*, and *Triumph*, Captain Hardy. The particular duty of this little squadron was to blockade about as many French ships as they found lying in the road of L'Orient. Willaumez steered for the station of Beresford's little fleet; and "it was about half-past four when the squadrons discovered each other: Beresford was then steering about E.S.E., with a fresh breeze at N.N.E. and Willaumez was nearly close-hauled on the same tack. Rear-Admiral Gourdon's division, consisting of four sail of the line, immediately bore up in chase; and the British squadron tacked, and steared w.N.W. formed in line of battle; the *Theseus* leading, followed by the *Revenge*, *Triumph*, and *Valiant*. A short continuance of the British squadron upon this course leaving open the port of L'Orient, the chasing ships, by the time they had approached within four or five miles of the enemy, again hauled their wind. At six o'clock, neither squadron then in sight of the other, the British tacked, and shortened sail; and about the same time the enemy's squadron, which had been much delayed by the falling of the breeze, arrived off the Isle-de-Groix." Willaumez was thus prevented, by the boldness of Beresford, from joining the L'Orient squadron, and proceeded cautiously towards the Basque roads. The *Triumph* now joined the fleet of Rear-Admiral Stopford, augmenting that blockading force to seven sail of the line, besides five frigates, and one fifty-gun ship armed *en-flûte*. With this fleet the blockade of the Brest fleet was maintained by Rear-Admiral Stopford until the seventh of March, 1809, when he was superseded by Admiral Lord Gambier, who brought with him five sail of the line more, making in all thirteen sail of the line. The *Triumph* and *Defiance* soon after, however, parted company, so that his actual number was eleven sail.

During the services of Sir Thomas off the coast of Portugal he distinguished himself by rendering assistance, and setting an example, to the navy of that allied kingdom, for which he was appointed a chief of division in the royal armada of Portugal in the year 1811, besides being granted double the usual amount of pay accompanying such appointment. Retir-

ing from this station in the month of August, 1812, Sir Thomas obtained the command of the *Ramillies*, 74 guns, and, accompanied by the *Endymion* and *Statira* frigates, proceeded to the station of our fleet off the coast of North America. In the month of May, 1813, Commodore Stephen Decatur, in the American frigate *United States*, 44 guns, and accompanied by the *Macedonian*, 36 guns,* and *Hornet* of 18 guns, all stored and provisioned for a cruise in the East Indies, escaped from the harbour of New York through Long Island Sound, the passage of Sandy Hook being closely blockaded by a British squadron. The commodore's ship was struck by lightning as she passed out to sea, but he was still enabled to reach Fisher's Island, at the entrance of New London river, where he anchored, ready to sail at the first favourable moment. The first of June was the occasion embraced by Decatur, but he had scarcely cleared the Sound, when he was discovered by the *Valiant*, 74 guns, and the *Acasta*, 40-gun frigate. The British, as a matter of course, gave chase, upon which the American put back, and although the *Acasta* got so far ahead of her consort, as to come within gun-shot of the *United States*, Decatur made no attempt to cut her off. Now chased into New London river by so small a force, he was blockaded there for upwards of six months by the ships that had driven him in; and his imprisonment promised to be of still longer duration, by the arrival of the *Ramillies*, 74 guns, commanded by Captain Hardy, and accompanied by the *Endymion* and *Statira* frigates. "Tired, at length, of this confinement, and the force now before New London happily excusing him, in the opinion of all, from venturing to cut his way out, Commodore Decatur† resolved to put in practice an epistolary stratagem; one that even in its failure should redound to his advantage, by wiping off the impression of lukewarmness, which so many months of forbearance had in some degree attached to his character.†"

* This vessel had been captured by the United States, on the 28th of October 1812, and added to the American navy.

† Vide James's Naval Occurrences.

Racked by impatience, on the 17th of January 1814, he sent to Captain Hardy of the *Ramillies* a written proposal for a contest between detached vessels of the respective squadrons ; the United States challenged the *Endymion*, and the *Macedonian* was prepared to engage the *Statira*. Such a wild and irregular proposition, in character rather with the early histories of nations than with the 19th century, received but too much attention from Captain Hardy, who had too large a share of the chivalrous spirit of his old commander to refuse such an opportunity of acquiring that fame, the ardent love of which originally led him into the noble profession of arms, and subsequently attached to him, by the fondest ties, the greatest of Britannia's naval heroes. The challenge was at once accepted, the proposition being somewhat qualified by Captain Hardy, who consented that the *Statira* should meet the *Macedonian* "as they were sister-ships," but refused to permit the *Endymion* to encounter the United States, the latter being the most powerful frigate in the American navy. The American commodore suspected the existence of advantages in men and guns, which the English captain, he imagined, had concealed by some artifice, and, acting on his groundless, unjust, and contemptible suspicions, declined the contest between the *Macedonian* and *Statira*.

It was stated by Captain Biddle, the bearer of the challenge, that Decatur would consent that the crews of the *Endymion* and *Statira* should consist of chosen men from the *Ramillies* and *Boxer*, gun-brig ; and it was this part of the proposition that induced Captain Hardy to accede to the whole, intending to have made one of the chosen band himself.

In this not very straight-forward manner, the American commodore extricated himself from the labyrinth in which he had become entangled by his own vapouring and bungling ; and in a similar evasive, shuffling way, the challenge between the *Hornet* and *Loup-Cervier* came off immediately after. The conduct of Decatur, in this affair, presents a mean character, unbecoming the high name for honour, candour, and gallantry, which has been always conceded to the officers of the naval service, both in America and Europe ; yet, if naval writers

are to be credited, he was a man of humanity, and undoubted personal courage.* It was Decatur who commanded the United States in the action with the Macedonian, Captain Carden, which he took, after a desperate resistance; and Captain Brenton thus briefly, but creditably to the commodore, describes his conduct after the action: "Commodore Decatur behaved to his prisoners in a manner so honourable and humane, as to entitle him not only to the thanks of Captain Carden, his officers, and men, but also to the grateful record of history. The commodore, who was an ornament to his profession, lost his life in a duel with a brother officer; they fought with muskets; both shots took effect, but one only inflicted a mortal wound."*

It was during Captain Hardy's services on the North American station, and while he was blockading the American fleet in New London River, that he had that providential escape from destruction, which the Americans had so discredibly planned. On the ninth of June, 1813, the boats of the *Ramillies* made prize of a schooner, which they were triumphantly towing up towards the captain's ship, but were interrupted by his orders to lay her alongside another prize, at some distance from the *Ramillies*; but while Captain Hardy's orders were being executed, the captured schooner blew up, by which Lieutenant Geddes and ten men were killed. It is supposed that the New York merchants were the principal agents in this infamous attempt. A report had reached them, that the *Ramillies* was short of provisions, upon which they immediately fitted out a schooner, placing provisions on the hatchway, the removal of which affected a spring and clock-work below. The machinery, thus put in motion, communicated with barrels of gunpowder in the hold, and, by means of trains, was so contrived that an explosion would follow the removal of the weight from the hatchway, after the lapse of a stated period. By a most providential interposition, however, this villanous gunpowder-plot was frustrated in its principal object; namely, the destruction of the *Ramillies*,

* Naval History, Vol ii., p. 460.

with her brave captain and gallant crew. Sir Thomas Hardy was informed by indisputable authority, that the merchants of Stonington were accomplices in the fitting out and contriving of the infamous design upon himself and his crew; and proceeding to that place, in the true style of a British tar, and after the manner of his great original, he bombarded the place, and repaid fully the compliment which the town's-people had intended for him.

The reprisals of the British fleet did not rest with the extinction of the town of Stonington, but, in co-operation with Lieutenant-Colonel Pilkington, Captain Hardy invaded and captured Moose Island, and all the other islands and islets in Passamaquoddy bay. The conclusion of hostilities in Europe influenced the movements of the Americans, and the restoration of the legitimate sovereigns to their thrones, left no alternative to republican America, but resignation to the decrees of a wise Providence. It was no longer necessary, therefore, to continue the blockade of her harbours, and after a long, active, and honourable service on that station, Sir Thomas Hardy was recalled.

Held in much respect by his sovereign, and much admiration by the nation, he was nominated a K. C. B. at the commencement of the year 1815, (the second of January,) and in the year following was appointed to the command of a royal yacht. Both emolument and distinction belonged to his home appointments, but these he was ready to resign whenever his country required his valuable services; and, on the 30th of November 1818, he was commissioned to the *Superb*, 78 guns, really mounting 84 guns. The disturbances in South America, so extensive in their operation, and so revolutionary in their objects, attracted the careful attention of monarchical governments, and the English ministry felt the prudence of maintaining a strong naval force off the coast of that country. The squadron destined for that service was placed under the command of Sir Thomas Hardy, who sailed as commodore, in the early part of 1819, and, arriving at the appointed station, continued to discharge the difficult, and somewhat delicate

duties that devolved upon him as commander-in-chief for nearly three years. The manner in which he discharged those duties, reflects the highest credit on his character, as an officer fitted to command. The fullest evidence exists of this interesting and important truth in the journal of Captain Basil Hall, who commanded the Conway on that station, while Hardy held the chief command, and whose account of the nature of those duties, which so much increased the difficulties of Hardy's appointment, we here extract: "Without going into the details," says Captain Hall, "which might perhaps seem tedious it would be difficult to give a comprehensive view of the various duties, which at this juncture devolved upon the captain of his majesty's ships stationed along the coast of South America and Mexico. It may be sufficient to mention, that as the whole of the consulate affairs fell to their charge, every dispute which arose between British subjects and the local governments was necessarily carried on through them. This was rather a new class of obligations for naval officers, but it was one which, from their being the only disinterested individuals on the spot, they alone were qualified to undertake. The greater number of misunderstandings arose out of commercial regulations, which the merchants complained of as oppressive: sometimes they originated in the actual seizure of English vessels, on the plea that attempts were made to introduce goods without paying the established duties: sometimes the merchants were accused of concealing Spanish property in their ships; at others the laws of the port, or of the country generally, were said to be infringed, the imputed delinquency being followed by imprisonment, or by confiscation of property. On these and many other occasions, appeals to government, from the captains of his majesty's ships, were looked for: it was, however, their special duty merely to remonstrate, and, if possible, to arrange matters amicably, but on no occasion to threaten, or to act hostilely without instructions from Sir Thomas Hardy, in reply to the representations made to him of all the circumstances. But in almost every case, it was of immediate consequence to the commercial interests, that such

disputes as have been alluded to, should be settled at the moment. The state of trade, indeed, and of every political circumstance in those countries, was liable to such perpetual fluctuation, that long before an answer could be received from the commodore, everything material in the case might be altered. The impossibility of foretelling changes, or of estimating with any precision the probable effect of the great political convulsions by which the country was torn, rendered it a matter of extreme difficulty for the commander-in-chief to give instructions to his officers, for whose proceedings, however, he was officially responsible. Still less, it may be supposed, could his majesty's government at home have any clear conception of what ought to be the details of management, in the midst of such a prodigious confusion of circumstances, varying every hour. In the end, it became obvious that the only method was to make the officers well acquainted with the general principles by which their conduct was to be regulated, and to leave them afterwards, as a matter of absolute necessity, to act to the best of their judgment and ability, according to circumstances, but always in the spirit of their instructions. With every possible care, however, cases would sometimes occur, so difficult and complicated, as to seem utterly incapable of adjustment, without an extension of their powers. On such occasions, a reference to higher authority became indispensable."

It was in the solution of these problems, it was in the adjustment of complicated cases, in the untying of those Gordian knots, that the humanity, justice, and clear judgment of Commodore Hardy were conspicuous: and of his services on this station, it may justly be observed, that, as few officers had ever been placed in more delicate and trying circumstances, so none had ever acquitted themselves more to the satisfaction of their own country, and of those whose injuries and discontents had brought them into contact with our commander-in-chief on that station.

In addition to the intestine troubles that raged within the heart of South America, and the desire of change that spread

itself over that great country, the seas that bound it were infested with pirates of the most infamous and cruel reputation. Amongst these the most notorious at this period was Benavides, a man as conspicuous for the variety of his resources, for activity and energy, as for the most ferocious and savage inhumanity. It was the misfortune of both English and American vessels to be captured by this monster, who shot the captains, and generally caused the most faithful of their followers to be hewn in pieces in presence of their comrades, as a warning to any of the poor fellows who then meditated escape. In fact, his orders were, to spear every prisoner who showed any desire to escape from his band of robbers. The captain and mate of the *Herselia*, whaler, which had been captured by Benavides, succeeded in eluding the vigilance and cruelty of the pirate, and hastened to inform Commodore Hardy of his nefarious crimes, and unheard-of cruelties. They also made him acquainted with the fact of many Englishmen being then prisoners at Acamo, and having no alternative but to serve either on board piratical vessels, or as freebooters in the rude levies which the pirate had collected on land.

Sir Thomas Hardy immediately ordered Captain Basil Hall, with the ship *Conway*, to proceed on the humane service of liberating the unhappy captives, and enjoined him to make no distinction of persons, but to give freedom to the captives of every nation that were detained by the sanguinary tyrant Benavides. The well-known ability of the officer to whom this service was entrusted, satisfied the commander-in-chief that his humane object would be effected as far as it was practicable; but the numbers that were restored to their kindred and country, unfortunately proved quite unequal to the hopes of the commodore, and to the singular exertions of the able officer employed on the expedition.

Retiring from the South American station, Sir Thomas Hardy received the approbation of all the high-minded and kind-hearted amongst his countrymen, having in every instance wisely tempered the duties of his office with forbearance and mercy.

On the 19th of July 1821, as a reward for his zeal and ability in the discharge of long and faithful services, Sir Thomas was appointed colonel of the royal marines, an honour and emolument which he continued to enjoy until he was raised to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, in the month of May 1825. The next active service to which Sir Thomas was chosen, was the command of an experimental squadron in the Channel, in which he was employed from the close of 1825, to the month of October 1827. His flag was hoisted, on this service, in the Sibylle frigate, Captain F. A. Collier C. B. On the appointment of the Duke of Clarence to be Lord High Admiral, Sir Thomas Hardy became senior naval Lord of the Admiralty, and after the accession of the Duke to the throne, his friend Hardy was honoured with the distinction of G. C. B. on the 13th of September 1831. That affectionate remembrance of the immortal Nelson, which retained its original freshness in King William's heart to his latest moments, continued to recommend Admiral Hardy to the sailor-king, and on the 9th of April, 1834, Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Hardy was appointed "master of Greenwich Hospital, and one of the commissioners and governors thereof," in the room of Sir Richard Keats, whose decease had left that valuable and honourable office vacant. This was the last promotion Hardy received, the last which his many years then qualified him to accept. In that grand monument of England's grateful character, he ruled over and regulated the brave fellows who had survived the greatest battles that were ever fought at sea, and who cheerfully submitted to his control, because he too had borne a part in the dangers. As long as Admiral Hardy was governor of the hospital, there was an interest united with a visit to Greenwich: all were anxious to see the hero, himself illustrious by valorous deeds, but in whose arms the greatest of all England's naval characters breathed his expiring sigh—and that man was Hardy.

In the honourable trust to which his kind-hearted sovereign had raised him, Sir Thomas passed an honoured life until the 20th day of September, 1839, when he expired in his bed, surrounded by his sorrowing lady and her daughters, his

brother, and the medical gentlemen of the hospital. As it might have been anticipated, the brave sailor, being informed that his latter end drew near, addressed his wife and children with the utmost composure, and expressed his gratitude to Heaven for the blessings he had enjoyed, for the opportunities that had been afforded him of serving his country, and then resigned his spirit into the hands that gave it.

After the decease of the bosom-friend of the great and glorious Nelson, a desire was expressed by his relatives to have a faithful bust executed, and for this purpose Mr. Behnes, one of the most eminent sculptors of the age he lived in, was requested to proceed with the undertaking. It was necessary, as a preliminary measure on the artist's part, to obtain, as soon as possible, a cast from the late admiral's face; and while engaged in this part of his duty, Mr. Behnes discovered a miniature of Lord Nelson, suspended from the Admiral's neck, which, it appeared, he had never once removed from its position, from the moment that it was placed there by the great hero's own hand. This interesting relic was placed in his coffin, and laid in the tomb with the warrior's remains, in compliance with his last request.

On the 7th of November, 1807, Sir Thomas Hardy espoused Anne Louisa, daughter of Admiral Sir G. Cranfield Berkley, G.C.B. and niece of the Duke of Richmond. By this lady, who survived him, Sir Thomas left three daughters.

MEMOIR
OF
CUTHBERT LORD COLLINGWOOD,
VICE-ADMIRAL OF THE RED,
&c. &c. &c.

PREFACE.

HARDY may possibly have occupied a place nearer to the heart of the Hero of the Nile, but Collingwood is entitled to the adjoining niche in the Pantheon of British admirals; and his fame is now firmly fixed as inferior to Nelson's only. It is not, however, that renown, high and absolute as it is, that gives his memory so strong a claim upon the biographer of the greatest naval hero of England; but it is his reputation, in connection with his having been the friend, coadjutor, and successor of that great man, from the first commencement of his bold career to his glorious death in the arms of victory.

There is a remarkable parallelism in the circumstances and events of both their lives. Nelson and Collingwood were the children of parents highly respectable, but not in the enjoyment of worldly wealth: both received some discipline at the grammar-schools of their native places, and at those institutions imbibed religious principles, which materially influenced their after lives. Entering the navy at a tender age, they applied with so much sincerity to their duties, that they soon won the aid of patronage, then their only disqualification for command. As Nelson rose with that rapidity to

which the sublimity of his heroic character had secured his title, he outstripped his youthful rival in the race; but having reached the rank of captain, from that moment every appointment which he vacated devolved on Collingwood; and when at length it was ordained that he should rise to heaven, he dropped his mantle over his noblest friend.

In addition to the shining qualities of Lord Collingwood as a naval hero, he possessed a refinement and elegance of mind, which the rude life of a sailor seemed rather to purify than disfigure; and his letters, particularly those addressed to his daughters, or written for their perusal or instruction, are entitled to a place in every library, and constitute one of a mother's best gifts to a daughter.

G. N. W.

MEMOIR OF VICE-ADMIRAL

CUTHBERT, LORD COLLINGWOOD.

It is not the character of the British nation, to withhold from its brave defenders the fair fame to which their heroic deeds have led : and, if the day of enrolling the name of Collingwood among those of great admirals was postponed until it became painful to the individual, it is to be placed to an account highly honourable to our country, and to the service in which his bright talents were employed. His life, to adopt his own modest language, so much in character with all his other sentiments, "had been a continual service at sea ; but unmarked by any of those extraordinary events or brilliant scenes which hold men up to particular attention, and distinguish them from those officers who are zealous and anxious for the public service." For many years Collingwood was one among the number of those meritorious officers who were both able and zealous for the public service, but whose good fortune it had not been to have been early brought forward into the more conspicuous sphere of public notice, or to have had the opportunity for which such men pant,* to display their talent and

* The most remarkable instance, probably, in our modern history of this passionate love of glory, was afforded by Major Napier and Lieutenant Gurwood, in the Peninsular war. These gallant fellows having determined upon rendering some signal services to their country, sought the opportunity in an unusual manner. When the British and their allies were sitting down before the fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo, and appearances portended a most desperate resistance on the part of the besieged, Napier and Gurwood wrote a letter to their commanding officer, couched in the following terms, "In the event of Ciudad Rodrigo standing an assault, and that the light division should be employed in it, the following officers of the fifty-second are desirous of offering their services: Major G. Napier to command the storming party, Lieutenant Gurwood the Forlorn Hope." Their request was granted, and both obtained the deserved reward of their heroism.—*Vide Wright's Life of Wellington*, vol. iii. 233.

their bravery in their country's service, and swell the pages of our naval annals, with triumphs and achievements of their own. Many are the Howes, the Hoods, the Duncans, the St. Vincents, and the Nelsons, who are not yet known to that public, whose loud applauses have been lavished upon those distinguished ornaments of the profession, who have already done that for their country which those will probably one day do. Such is the height to which the naval character of this nation has risen, and so progressive have been the stages of its glory, that it is not in the 'ordinary services or successes of the profession, that the merits of a commander are discovered. Long accustomed to such brilliant naval victories, and such inspiring examples of talent and ardour, the news of a single capture is scarcely felt, although made, perhaps, with no less honour to the commander, than the prouder triumph of a fleet: nor in the splendid victory of a squadron do we appreciate the services of individuals who have contributed to acquire it; much less do we discover, in the character of those who only want the opportunity to display them, those talents which, though not yet brought into action, are ready to share in the honours of their profession, whenever the occasion may arise to call them into notice.

But though the public eye is only to be attracted by great and splendid victories, which neither the rank nor the good fortune of these has yet afforded them the opportunity to achieve, let not the ardour of their aspiring minds be checked by denying to them the praises that belong to their merits, and the hope that they may one day vie with the noble examples which they have before them to stimulate their exertions. Although, like the stately oak * which is cut down to build the floating batteries that have been the stages of their glory, the heroes of the age must yield to the stroke that severs them from the stations they adorn, another and another still succeeds, to supply their places, as the advancing growth of

* "Tall oaks for future navies grow,
Fair Albion's best defence."—WATTS.

"So generations in their course decay,
To flourish these, when those are put away."—*Iliad*, POPE.

the forest furnishes to our navy the constant succession which every year requires.

And deep as the wound, and painful as our sufferings are, when age or glory deprives us of the service of one of our illustrious heroes, another arises to supply the loss.

“ Like leaves on trees, the race of man is found,
Now green in youth, now withering on the ground ;
Another race the following spring supplies,
They fall successive, and successive rise.”—HOMER.

And never shall there be wanting a succession of able and active commanders, to call forth and direct the native and irresistible courage of our British tars, against the enemy that shall presume to insult our shores, or to dispute with us the empire of the seas.

Cast but a glance upon the long list of admirals, captains, and commanders: and why even should inferior officers be overlooked—those future heroes, whose early promise points them out to their superiors in the more confined sphere of action in which their services have had to range? Their ripening talents and rising fame have not been undistinguished in the subordinate ranks of the profession: and why should it be doubted that their services will rise with their rank, and the opportunities which they may have to display their maturer talents at a future time? Honoured by the nation, and the patronage of those eminent characters who have trodden the path of glory, and set them the bright examples which they imitate, they come recommended to us by the best judges of their merit, and from a school in which they have already gained the prizes, which must encourage them to become the candidates for future fame. These are the seeds of a future harvest, selected by those who are most competent to appreciate their labours. These are the choice selections of those experienced veterans to whom we look for the defence of our country, and the future glory of the British flag; who observed in the early bud, and the opening blossom, what we may rest assured will one day or other confirm their hopes, and approve their choice. It is sufficient not merely to sustain our sinking

spirits, when Providence has removed from us one of the bravest heroes, but to raise our highest expectations, that they who are to be our future Nelsons have been the pupils of our past. Never will they forget under whose tuition they were formed, nor cease to emulate the heroic deeds of those who were their patrons in early life, the ornaments of their day, the revered names to which their country looked up with confidence while they lived, and remember with grateful affection in their tombs. The lessons, the examples, the achievements of those under whom they served, will live in their remembrance, and be a constant spur to stimulate them to deeds of like renown.

Burning for that bright glory which their predecessors have obtained, they will never cease to seek the opportunity of like distinction; and whenever the occasion shall arise, what they have seen in others will be both the pledge and the model of what they will perform themselves.

Amongst the number of those gallant defenders, of whom the public had known but little before the death of Nelson, but to whom that public had been much indebted, without the opportunity of acknowledging the services which had contributed to exalt our navy to the proud pre-eminence it then attained, was Cuthbert Collingwood; a man of striking worth as a sailor, subject, and scholar. Had he lived at any other period of our naval history, his example would have influenced our youth, his merit have attained, at a much earlier period, that distinction to which it entitled him, that fame which he at last acquired; but the effulgence of Nelson's glory eclipsed that of his brightest cotemporaries. Collingwood was known to all naval men, to the Duke of Clarence, to the Admiralty, as one of the best officers and most skilful seamen in the service; and this reputation was acquired, not by the recommendation of Nelson, or of any members of the aristocracy, but, notwithstanding Nelson's fame, and the higher influence of brother officers.

CUTHBERT COLLINGWOOD was born at Newcastle-upon-Tyne on the 26th of September, 1750, and though he could boast a

long train of ancestors in the shire of Northumberland,* the ancestral estates having become forfeited to the crown, in consequence of the attachment of the owners to the house of Stuart, his parents were by no means in opulent circumstances. They were able, however, to extend to him the advantage of an excellent and useful education, such as qualified him to become the founder of his own fortune, the architect of his own great fame. The *res angusta domi*, instead of detracting from any man's dignity, should rather be the subject of an honest pride; and those circumstances, which a false shame might be desirous to conceal, have been frequently the occasion of calling forth virtues, which would otherwise, most probably, have lain dormant for ever.

The filial affections and duties which shone in the character of young Collingwood, at a period when every small sum that he could save from his own slender income, to add to the comforts of his family, was of consequence to himself, did him no less honour than his public character. But the sacred relations of private life must not be violated here, by following the object of this memoir into the privacy of domestic anecdote.

The family of Mr. Collingwood, by his wife Milcah, the daughter and co-heir of Reginald Dobson, Esq. of Barwess,

* "The Collingwood family had given knights and sheriffs to their native county, and were connected with many honourable alliances. In 1627 Ralph Collingwood, of East Ditchbourne, great-grandfather of the admiral, espoused the niece of Anthony, Earl of Kent, the seventh in descent from Joan Plantagenet, the fair maid of Kent, who was grand-daughter to King Edward the First, and wife, first to the Black Prince, and afterwards to Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent. In 1585, Sir Cuthbert Collingwood, together with the Lord Warden, and other knights, were made prisoners by the Scots in a border feud, and his fame thus celebrated by a border minstrel—

"But if ye wald a souldier search
Among them a' were ta'en that night,
What name sa wordie to put in verre,
As Collingwood, that courtous knight."

[*Vide Correspondence of Lord Collingwood, edited by G. L. Newenham Collingwood.*] Ralph Collingwood lost his estate in Durham by his loyalty to Charles the First; and his descendant, George Collingwood, of Eslington, having taken arms in the cause of the exiled Stuarts, was made prisoner while fighting by the side of Lord Derwentwater, and shared his fate on the scaffold in 1715. In the old ballad of Derwentwater's Last Good Night, the earl is made to address his fellow-sufferer in the following stanza:—

"And fare thee well, George Collingwood,
Since fate has put us down,
If thou and I have lost our lives,
King James has lost his crown."

in the county of Westmorland, Esquire, consisted of six children—three sons, Cuthbert and Wilfred, who adopted the navy as their profession, and John, who obtained a clerkship in the office of customs; and three daughters, two of whom lived for many years in Newcastle, the place of their birth. The grammar-school of his native town was then admirably conducted by the Rev. Hugh Moises, and during seven years Cuthbert enjoyed all the advantages of this gentleman's instructions, and acquired those habits of regularity and discipline which constitute the most valuable features in the endowed and free schools of England. The naturally gentle disposition of Cuthbert contributed much to his literary success, and the grace, beauty, and elegance of his letters, written in after life, evidence the good account to which he turned his academic years. Indeed, it may fairly be concluded, that whatever profession Collingwood had entered in early years, he would have attained equal eminence, and, in all likelihood, at an earlier period than circumstances enabled him to do in that which he adopted. At this seminary the subject of our memoir made the acquaintance of two boys, natives of the town, who subsequently attained the highest honours in the legal profession; the one, Lord Eldon, becoming chancellor of England; the other, Lord Stowell, not less eminent for wisdom and legal knowledge. The Lord Chancellor Eldon was frequently heard to speak of his old schoolfellow Cuddy Collingwood, whom he described when at school as "a pretty and gentle boy." It was rather a singular coincidence, that so many youths, the sons of parents possessed of but limited incomes, who rose in after life to such an eminence in the history of their country, should have met together at an institution of such moderate pretensions; and it is equally deserving of notice, that a boy of Collingwood's gentle disposition, and who possessed such a decided taste for polite literature, should have selected a profession of such a bold and manly character, yet never was there an officer in the British navy more entirely devoted to the service. The editor of Lord Collingwood's admirable letters to his friends and family, gives the following anecdote

of the mild temperament of Cuthbert Collingwood at the period of his entering the navy. "When he first went to sea he occasionally felt a pang of sorrow at his separation from home; and the first lieutenant of the ship, observing his grief, spoke to him in terms of encouragement and kindness. This conduct made such an impression on the youthful sailor, that he took this officer to his box, and offered him, in gratitude, a large piece of plumcake which his mother had given him."

In the year 1761, young Collingwood, being then but eleven years of age, entered the navy, commencing his career under the protection and patronage of Captain Brathwaite, his maternal uncle, who at that time had the command of the Shannon frigate, and into which he had been made post on the sixth of April, 1761:* to whose regard for him, and the interest which he took in his improvement in all the branches of nautical science, he owed the foundation that was laid for his future elevation in his profession. Having served with his affectionate uncle for several years, in 1766 he was made midshipman on board the Gibraltar, and from 1762 to 1772, he acted as master's mate in the Liverpool. At this period he was taken into the Lenox, Captain, (afterwards admiral) Roddam, whose connexion, and great regard for the family, strengthened as they were by his high opinion of these young men, induced him to take both Cuthbert and Wilfred Collingwood under his protection, and to interest himself in their promotion. By this brave and discerning officer, the former was recommended to Vice-Admiral Graves, and after that to Vice-Admiral Sir Peter Parker.

He had now been thirteen years in the service without promotion, so little did his prospects, at his first setting out in life, keep pace with his merit, or indicate the high honours to which he subsequently attained. On the twenty-seventh of February 1774, he sailed in the Preston, commanded by Vice-Admiral Graves, for Boston in North America, and in the following

* Richard Brathwaite, Esq. afterwards admiral of the blue, who married Mrs. Collingwood's sister, died at Maize Hill, Greenwich, on the 28th of June, 1805, in his 80th year.

year he was made fourth lieutenant by him, on the 17th of June, the day of the battle of Bunker's Hill. Collingwood was despatched with a party of seamen to the field of battle, to furnish the army with everything necessary for the maintenance of their position, and their honour, upon that very trying and memorable occasion. Soon after this eventful day, Vice-Admiral Graves being recalled, and succeeded on that station by Vice-Admiral Shuldham, Collingwood sailed for England on the first of February, 1776. In this year Collingwood, then lieutenant, went out to Jamaica in the *Hornet* sloop, and shortly after the *Lowestoffe* arrived at the same station, having Nelson on board as second lieutenant, with whom he had previously been on terms of intimacy, and even of friendship. Nelson had entered the service ten years later than his friend; but through the influence of Captain Maurice Suckling, and his own precocious genius, he was made lieutenant in the *Lowestoffe*, Captain Locker, in 1777. On the Jamaica station the friendship between these great men was revived and strengthened; and upon the arrival of Vice-Admiral Sir Peter Parker, to take the chief command, they found in him a common patron, who while his country was receiving the advantage of his own valuable services, was laying the foundation for those future benefits, which were to be derived from these promising objects of his prudent patronage.

And here began that revolution in the wheel of fortune which continued to the last; when he, whom the subject of this memoir has so often succeeded in the early stages of his promotion, resigned the command of a victorious fleet into the hands of a well-trying friend, whom he knew to be a competent successor, in the last and most triumphant stage of his glory, as he had been before in the earlier stages of his fortune. For it is an extraordinary fact, that, wherever the one got a step in rank, the other succeeded to the station which his friend had left, first in the *Lowestoffe*, in which, upon the promotion of Lieutenant Nelson into the admiral's own ship, the *Bristol*, Lieutenant Collingwood succeeded to the vacancy: and when the former was advanced, in 1778, from the *Badger* to the

rank of post-captain in the *Hinchinbrooke*, a twenty-eight-gun frigate, the latter was made master and commander in the *Badger*; and again, upon Nelson's promotion to a larger ship, Collingwood was made post into the *Hinchinbrooke*. Thus this last-named vessel made them both post-captains. The only explanation of this remarkable succession in the promotion of these two eminent men is, that their discriminating patron, Sir Peter Parker, being equally the friend of both, being also aware of the reciprocal feelings that existed between these meritorious young men, took care that their professional elevation should take place in this simultaneous manner.

In the spring of 1780 a plan was projected of crossing the Isthmus of Darien, by the advantage of the river San Juan and the lakes of Nicaragua and Leon. The idea resulted from extravagant enthusiasm, and failed from total ignorance of the character of the country to be passed through, or the people to be encountered. Since this wild effort to pass from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, *per saltum*, engineers from the United States have visited this locality, and the sandy nature of the soil in some parts of the interior, and the elevation of the surface of Nicaragua, would render the construction of a railway, even in this scientific age, a matter of so much difficulty and cost, that the idea, even as an international one, has been totally abandoned. When Collingwood's gallant party visited the Spanish main, and attempted to reach the lake in the interior, nature presented obstacles of no ordinary kind, in the rudeness of the country, the rapidity of the current of the San Juan, and the ledges of rock which obstructed navigation by creating immense cataracts: besides these checks to the ardour of the adventurers, such was the fatal character of the climate, that no people of a chilly latitude could resist its influence, or escape its attenuating visitations.

Numbers were weighed down by this debilitating fever, and numbers also were carried off in the space of a few brief hours. It was at the port of San Juan that Collingwood joined the *Hinchinbrooke*, and took the command, succeeding Captain Nelson, who was promoted into a larger ship; the latter, who

had always possessed but an indifferent constitution, was too easily susceptible of the infection of the climate, and, while he was at that port, never completely shook it off: he was at length obliged to quit his ship, and return to his native country. Had Nelson continued much longer in this pestilential atmosphere, the fate of England, nay, of Europe, might have been very different, for so far had the fever invaded his temperament that it was long after his return before he was sufficiently recovered to resume his valuable services to his country. By the advantages of a much better constitution, Collingwood was enabled to resist the attacks of a sickly climate, and to survive the greater portion of his ship's crew, having buried, in the space of only four months, no fewer than one hundred and eighty out of two hundred, its original number.

The climate proved equally fatal to the crews of other ships, not leaving Collingwood's singular, about the same degree of mortality prevailing in every vessel that remained on the station for any length of time. The men on board the transports all died, and some of the ships having none left to man them, sunk in the harbour; but transport ships were not wanted, for the troops they brought from England were no more. They had fallen, not to satiate the vengeance of an enemy, not in self-defence or even by the hand of the assassin, but sunk down under the contagion of the climate, innocent victims to the ignorance, neglect, or obstinacy of their governors at home.

From this dreadful scene, that Providence, which had hitherto preserved our hero's life to be the future instrument of good to his country, and to the cause of humanity which he was born to promote, at length happily released him. He was relieved from the painful duties of this station in the month of August, 1780, and in the December following was appointed to the command of the *Pelican*, a small frigate of 24 guns. His continuance in this new duty was of short duration, for, on the first of August 1781, a year so well remembered by the calamities to the West Indies with which it was accompanied, in a violent hurricane, and during a most tempestuous night, his ship was cast upon a reef of rocks called the Morant Quays,

and there went to pieces. Once more kind Providence held out her hand to one of her favourite children, and by a bountiful interposition, the captain and all the crew were preserved from a violent death upon the rock, or, from one little less painful, amongst the waves. With the utmost difficulty and imminent peril the ship's company proceeded to form a raft from the floating timbers, and the small and broken yards, and by means of this frail vessel reached the shore in safety: upon the sandy hills that rise beyond the reef they continued, with a scanty supply of food and water, for ten days, during which time a boat went to Jamaica to detail their sufferings and circumstances, upon which the Diamond frigate was immediately despatched to their relief—a service performed without further sufferings, or any loss of life.

Just before this perilous adventure Collingwood had given to his country some proof of what might, at some future day, be expected from his courage and ability. Under his command the Pelican had the honour of capturing the French frigate, *Le Cerf*, of 16 guns, and of recapturing the *Blanford*, a richly laden vessel from Glasgow, under circumstances that reflected the highest credit upon the captain and the crew. Escaped from the danger of shipwreck, and acquitted of the least charge of neglect of duty, or deficiency in seamanship, it was not long before an opportunity again presented itself of resuming his proud station in the service of his country. In 1782 he was appointed to the command of the *Samson*, 64 guns, in which fine ship he sailed until the peace of 1783, when his vessel was paid off, himself appointed to the *Mediator*, and sent to the West Indies, to strengthen our squadron in that part of the globe. There again he met his friend Captain Nelson, who commanded the *Boreas* frigate on that station, and he continued on this service until 1786. It was at this period that Nelson first displayed that tact for diplomacy, that accurate knowledge of the naval and commercial regulations, by which he maintained the character of the British nation for justice and wisdom, in the western hemisphere, and proved his own ability and peculiar fitness, for the management of the most

delicate and difficult negotiations. By the provisions of the navigation law, the privilege of trading with our West Indian colonies was exclusively confined to British subjects employing also British bottoms, yet, in open defiance of this enactment, the citizens of the United States, who had separated themselves from Great Britain by violence, who manifested not merely a contempt, but an actual hatred for the monarchical form of government, continued pertinaciously to trade with our islands in the west.

In this flagrant violation of law they were encouraged by some of our own planters, who were benefited by such illicit traffic, and now threw every obstacle in the way of Captain Nelson, who beheld with feelings of disgust the infringement of his country's laws. The spirited part which our great captain acted, is known to the reader of his memoirs, and occupies a conspicuous place in the naval history of England; and it will be always read and remembered with feelings of regret, that he was for some time afterwards harassed with arrests, and suits at law, which would inevitably have ended in his earlier death, if the Admiralty had not, at length, and after much importunity, undertaken the investigation, and released Nelson from a responsibility, which should not have been permitted to rest upon his shoulders for a single moment. The mind of Collingwood was as vigorous and acute, and possessed of more elegance, than that of his splendid friend and rival—rivals only in the race of glory, and the cause of England and of freedom; and convinced equally of the propriety of Nelson's particular view of this question, as well as of the perfect integrity of his character, he co-operated with him most strenuously in his attempt to carry into a sound operation the provisions of the act. In this part of justice and friendship, both were supported by the determined bravery, and tried abilities, of Captain Wilfred Collingwood, who then commanded the *Ratler*, and had adopted his brother's and Captain Nelson's correct interpretation of the same act. Had the friendship which previously subsisted between these two young men, hereafter destined to make so conspicuous a figure upon the

great theatre of our naval glory, been but faintly formed, and still susceptible of separation, the decided part which Collingwood acted in this transaction, should have bound Nelson to him for life, in the closest bonds of friendship. The playful manner of the stern warrior, in addressing the friend of his bosom, is more conspicuous in Nelson's letters to Collingwood, and to other friends, about this period, than in any part of his correspondence at a subsequent period, when overwhelming flattery had contributed to give a sickly tinge to what he wrote and spoke. In a letter addressed to his respected friend Captain Locker, dated on board the *Boreas*, 24th of September, 1784, Nelson writes: "Collingwood is at Grenada, which is a great loss to me; for there is nobody else, that I can make a confidant of:" and again on the 23d of November in the same year, and to the same friend, he says, "Collingwood will soon send you such a letter, that you will think it a history of the West Indies." On the 16th of March in the year following, continuing the correspondence with Captain Locker, from St. Kitt's, he again introduces the name of Collingwood in the most affectionate manner: "What an amiable good man Collingwood is! he is a valuable member of society." This sentiment of warm attachment to his amiable companion will be found repeated in the letters of Captain Nelson to his dearest friends. In another communication to Locker, dated *Boreas*, off Martinico, 5th of March 1785, he says, "had it not been for Collingwood, this station would have been the most disagreeable I ever saw:" and to this expression of happiness in his society, he adds, in the same letter, a convincing proof of the respect he entertained for the soundness of his judgment. Speaking of his interpretation of the then recent navigation act, he says, "This did not appear to me to be the intent of placing men-of-war on this station in peaceable times; therefore I asked Collingwood to go with me to the admiral, (Sir Richard Hughes,) for his sentiments and mine were exactly similar." Amongst the letters preserved by the Collingwood family, one from Nelson to his friend, commencing, "My dear Coll," his usual familiar mode at that period, (September,

1785), affords very full evidence of their kindly sentiments towards each other. There the great man discloses the minutest particulars of the situation into which he had brought himself, accompanied by intelligence, which he was confident would give pleasure to his friend, namely, that it was the opinion of the solicitor to the customs in England, that his (Nelson's) interpretation of the navigation law was correct, and that he *was* warranted in seizing the ships.

At the close of the year 1786, Captain Cuthbert Collingwood returned to England, when his ship being paid off, he embraced that opportunity of visiting his native county, and reviving his acquaintance with his relations and friends, whom he had left at an early age, and from whom he had been so long separated, that until this period he had been almost a stranger to them all. In this retirement, and in the society of disinterested friends, after a service of five and twenty years, he continued to enjoy the pleasures of a country life, in the land of his birth, at the home of his fathers, until the year 1790, when, upon the expected rupture with Spain, on account of the seizure of our ships in Nootka Sound, he was again invited to accept of active employment in the armament then fitting out, and was appointed to the command of the *Mermaid* frigate, of 32 guns, under the commandership-in-chief of Admiral Cornish, in the West Indies.

The happiness of Cuthbert Collingwood, while sojourning with his family, was for a while overshadowed with sorrow, by intelligence of the premature decease of his gallant brother Wilfred. This determined character, fit associate of the immortal Nelson, took a warm interest in the affair between Nelson and the West Indian planters, and his amiable brother frequently remarked that Wilfred understood the matter much better than any of them. The melancholy event of his death was communicated to his brother by Captain Nelson in a letter of high-wrought feeling, which we here extract from the published correspondence of Lord Collingwood: "Boreas, Nevis, 3d of May, 1787: To be the messenger of bad news is my misfortune, but still is a tribute which friends owe each other.

I have lost my friend, you an affectionate brother; too great a zeal in serving his country hastened his end. The greatest consolation the survivor can receive, is a thorough knowledge of a life spent with honour to himself, and of service to his country. If the tribute of tears be valuable, my friend had it. The esteem he stood in with his royal highness* was great. His letter to me on his death is the strongest testimony of it. I send you an extract from it. ‘Collingwood, poor fellow, is no more; I have cried for him, and most sincerely do I condole with you upon his loss. In him his majesty has lost a faithful servant, and the service a most excellent officer.’ A testimony of regard so honourable is more to be coveted than any thing this world could have afforded, and must be a balm to his surviving friends. The *Ratler* had been refitting at English Harbour, and when I arrived there in the middle of April, Wilfred was a little complaining, but I did not think at first any thing dangerous was to be apprehended. But in a few days I perceived he was in a rapid decline. Dr. Young told me to send him to sea as the only chance; he sailed on the Tuesday for Grenada, where I was in hopes, could he have reached Mr. Hume’s, some fortunate circumstance might turn out; but it pleased God to order it otherwise. On Friday the 21st of April, at ten at night, he left this life without a groan or a struggle. The ships put into St. Vincent’s, where he was interred with all military honours; the regiment, president, and council attending his remains to the grave: I mention this circumstance to show the respect for his character. It is a credit to the people of St. Vincent’s which I did not think they would have deserved. Adieu, my good friend, and be assured I am, with the truest regard, yours affectionately—
Horatio Nelson.”

Meanwhile affairs with Spain and Russia were accommodated, so that the services of the *Mermaid* were dispensed with by the government: Collingwood concluded, from the existing aspect of things, that peace would probably be of many years’ continuance, and, possessing a mild and contented

* The Duke of Clarence, afterwards William the IVth.

disposition, he again visited Northumberland, where he had for a time enjoyed much rational pleasure in the society of a well-educated gentry. It was on this revisitation of his native land that he espoused Miss Sarah Blackett, for whom his admiration continued unabated to his latest moments. This lady was "the daughter and co-heir of John Erasmus Blackett, Esq., one of the aldermen of Newcastle, (a younger brother of Sir Edward Blackett, Bart. of Newbury Park, Yorkshire, and Matfen in Northumberland), and of his wife Sarah, daughter and co-heir of Robert Roddam, of Hethpoole, in Northumberland, Esq." The offspring of this happy marriage was two daughters; the elder, Sarah, born in May 1792, the younger Mary Patience, born in the year following.

With his beloved wife and infant daughters Captain Collingwood resided at Morpeth, if residence it can be called to one who had it so little in his power to set his foot on shore, or consider any spot but as a place to cast anchor for a time, till the service of his country should again call him to pursue the path of glory on his own element.

It was not long permitted him to indulge in the endearments, or enjoy the repose, of a private life. From the pleasures of an union so happily formed, and from the social circle of his warmest friends, to whom his own amiable and virtuous character could not fail to attach him, he was summoned to the more imperative duty, the service of his country. In 1793, the uneasy state of French society and politics was relieved by the bursting forth of a war, which was to lead to the shedding of more blood than any that had ever preceded it. Collingwood was appointed flag-captain to Rear-Admiral Bowyer, on the declaration of hostilities, first on board the *Prince*; and when the admiral removed into the *Barfleur*, he accompanied him, and continued to serve with him in that ship to the 1st of June, when the admiral was wounded in the hot action of that day.

Let us suspend for a moment the narrative of our hero's joining the fleet, and proceeding in search of the enemy, that we may allude to the amiability of his private life, as evinced

by a very clever letter, to a young friend of the name of Lane, from which we extract the following passage, not as being the most favourable to the memory of the writer, but as combining a proof of the virtuous character of his mind, and of his great facility as an agreeable writer. "Guard carefully against letting discontent appear in you : it is sorrow to your friends, a triumph to your competitors, and cannot be productive of any good. Conduct yourself so as to deserve the best that can come to you : and the consciousness of your own proper behaviour will keep you in spirits, if it should not come. Let it be your ambition to be foremost upon all duty. Do not be a nice observer of turns, but for ever present yourself ready for everything, and if your officers are not very inattentive men, they will not allow the others to impose more duty on you than they should : but I never knew one who was exact not to do more than his share of duty, who would not neglect that, when he could do so without fear of punishment. I need not say more to you on the subject of sobriety, than to recommend to you the continuance of it as exactly as when you were with me. Every day affords you instances of the evils arising from drunkenness. Were a man as wise as Solomon, and as brave as Achilles, he would still be unworthy of trust, if he addicted himself to grog. He may make a drudge, but a respectable officer he can never be : for the doubt must always remain, that the capacity which God has given him will be abused by intemperance. Young men are generally introduced to this vice by the company they keep : but do you carefully guard against ever submitting yourself to be the companion of low, vulgar, dissipated men : and hold it as a maxim, that you had better be alone, than in mean company. Let your companions be such as yourself, or superior ; for the worth of a man will always be rated by that of his company. You do not find pigeons associate with hawks, or lambs with bears : and it is as unnatural for a good man to be the companion of blackguards. Read—let me charge you to read. Study books that treat of your profession, and of history. Thus employed, you will always be in

good company. Nature has sown in man the seeds of knowledge ; but they must be cultivated, to produce fruit. Wisdom does not come by instinct, but will be found when diligently sought for : seek her, she will be a friend that will never fail you." This beautiful composition was followed by many others of equal elegance, but less interest, to different friends : but in 1792, during his residence at Morpeth, he wrote a letter to his friend Nelson, from which his views of the politics of that period may be collected. It was just at this time that the seamen of Shields had entered into a combination, and seemed resolved upon compelling their employers to advance their wages to an extravagant amount. The sum of their numbers, about 1500, the violence of their conduct, and the character of the times, induced government to take active measures for the correction of so great an evil ; and three vessels of war, the *Racehorse*, *Drake*, and *Martin*, and a regiment of dragoons, were sent to the district, to overawe the conspirators, and "dispose the johnnies to peace." In describing these troubles to his friend, Collingwood develops his sentiments plainly : "The times are turbulent, and the enthusiasm for liberty is raging even to madness. The success of the French people in establishing their republic, has set the same principle, which lurked in every state of Europe, afloat : and those who secreted it in their bosoms, have now the boldness to avow a plan for adopting it in the government of this country, and to recruit volunteers for carrying it into execution. In this neighbourhood we seem to be pacific. Misery will undoubtedly be the consequence of any commotion, or attempt to disturb our present most excellent constitution."

Admiral Bowyer in the *Barfleur*, (after Captain Collingwood had seen the convoys down the Channel as far as the *Lizard*,) entrusted their future protection to Rear-Admiral Montagu with six sail, and, steering towards Brest, despatched two frigates to look into that harbour, and ascertain the strength of the enemy's fleet : this was found to amount to twenty-four sail of the line, all lying at anchor, and ready for sea the first favourable moment. The state of the weather impeding the continu-

ance of a close blockade, the French were enabled to get to sea unobserved by the British. Intelligence of their escape reaching the admiral, he instantly crowded sail, and made the signal for pursuit westward. During the first few days no appearance of the enemy was perceived, but our fleet fell in with and captured several French and Dutch vessels, all which they were obliged to burn, as no hands could be spared to man, or time consumed in their preservation. On the 29th of June, the hostile fleet was discovered, and our ships were enabled to annoy their rear, but it was only "by a dash" that they were at length brought into close action. The details of this day, so glorious to the British flag, belong to the history of the navy in general, or particularly to the memoirs of Lord Howe; but there are some circumstances connected with it, in reference to Lord Collingwood, that it would be highly culpable to pass over here.

Admiral Gardner led the fleet with his usual heroism; and, although our van suffered much, the rear of the enemy was dreadfully cut up. Covering their crippled ships, a most desperate assault was made upon the *Queen*, Captain Hutt, (after his death, Captain Bedford,) and the *Invincible*, Captain T. Pakenham; but their destruction was nobly averted by Admiral Graves in the *Royal Sovereign*, and Admiral Bowyer in the *Barfleur*, who interposed themselves between their comrades and the enemy, and obliged one first-rate and two 74-gun ships of the enemy to sheer off. This achievement was performed on the 29th of May, and on the two following days the enemy were occasionally in sight, through the openings of a fog so dense, that the steersmen could scarce see the length of their ships. On the last day of the month, the fog passed away, and the enemy were observed to be already forming their line of battle; and then, said Collingwood, in one of his exquisite letters, "many a blessing did I send forth to my Sarah, lest I should never bless her more." That this confession, so happily expressed, was not in the remotest degree associated with timidity or sorrow, its author abundantly proves by his playfully observing to his admiral, as the enemy

advanced, "It is now ten o'clock; about this time our wives are going to church, but I think the peal we shall ring about the Frenchmen's ears, will outdo the sounds of the parish bells."

The ship which Collingwood was directed to engage, was so situated, that the *Barfleur* had to pass through the fire of the French admiral's ship, and of two 74's near him, in order to take up the position assigned to her. This was done with so much coolness, that the *Barfleur* received the fire of these ships three times before she replied by a single gun. During her silence she was concentrating her powers of annihilation; and when she did open upon her enemies, she poured forth such a flame, as must have carried inevitable ruin to her opponents. In about ten minutes Admiral Bowyer received a shot in the leg, and fell into Collingwood's arms; the same ball hit the first lieutenant of the *Barfleur* in the head; but this brave fellow refused to remain below, and returned to the fight as soon as he got his wound dressed: these misfortunes were soon alleviated by the news that the Frenchman was sinking—intelligence received with three deafening cheers. Nine men were killed on board the *Barfleur*, and upwards of twenty severely wounded; and when her situation in the battle is considered, her escape in such plight, as that her masts were all standing, was extraordinary. Every Frenchman in her neighbourhood was dismasted, and although they were superior in size and equipments to the English, and had been sent to sea for the express purpose of annihilating our fleet, never was a more severe chastisement inflicted upon an enemy. A splendid instance of the gallantry of Captain Collingwood occurred in this celebrated battle, one not exceeded by any that is related of our greatest naval heroes, amongst whom his memory is now consecrated. When he had sufficiently crippled his adversary, so that further triumph would have been cruel and pusillanimous, Collingwood perceived that one of his companions, the *Invincible*, had suffered most severely; he instantly made a signal that he was ready to assign the remainder of the contest with the disabled enemy to the *Invincible*, thus matching one crippled ship against another,



while he should encounter a fresh vessel. With these few anecdotes we terminate the relation of the part which Collingwood acted in a victory so conspicuous ; adding, however, that these facts, few but valuable, are incontrovertible, and communicated to his friends previous to the publication of Lord Howe's despatches, which relieve them from the suspicion, if any ever could have existed, that they were fabricated for a purpose, or even exaggerated to prop up a reputation that was sinking. None who peruse our brief statement can hesitate in allowing that the bravery and seamanship of our hero were entitled at least to honourable and encouraging notice in the despatch which proclaimed the victory of the first of June ; yet not only was his name passed silently over, but, in the distribution of medals and rewards to those who had signalized themselves in that action, he was most unjustly neglected. Such conduct is too closely connected with the prosperity of our navy, to be permitted to escape observation ; and as there cannot be a more effectual mode of laying before the reader the strong feeling of indignation which it excited amongst the most right-minded men in the service, we shall first give the statement of the Naval Chronicle at the period, and add to it a manly examination of the circumstances from the most recent naval history. The Naval Chronicle, more delicate in its remarks, as the objects, whether of rigid censure or well-merited praise, were then alive, thus introduces the particulars of this case of hardship and injustice to Captain Collingwood.

“In this action (1st of June 1794) he distinguished himself with great bravery, and the ship which he commanded is known to have had its full share in the glory of the day, though it has been the subject of conversation with the public—and was, we believe, the source of some painful feelings, at the moment, in the captain's own mind—that no notice was taken of his services on the occasion, nor his name once mentioned in the official despatch of Lord Howe to the Admiralty. These misapprehensions too frequently arise from a want of attention to the circumstances on the part of others, and that nice sense of honour in the party concerned, which, however laudable

in itself, is too apt to be wounded by jealousies of its own creation, or the busy suggestions of others, ever ready to awake that suspicion which is so painful to the subject, and often most injurious to the public service. Perhaps Lord Collingwood, if he were now to review the circumstances of the case, and to consider how difficult he has found it himself to do justice to the merits of those under his command, without hurting the feelings of others, alike jealous of honour, and alive to the slightest appearance of neglect, might see the conduct of Lord Howe in a different light from what it appeared to him at the time.

“In his lordship’s first despatch, dated the 2d of June, he mentioned Rear-Admiral Bowyer, as one who had lost his leg in the engagement, and he adds, “ Though I shall have, on the subject of these different actions with the enemy, distinguished examples hereafter to report, I presume the determined bravery of the several ranks of officers, and the ship’s companies employed under my authority, will have already been sufficiently denoted by the effect of their spirited exertions; and I trust I shall be excused for postponing the more detailed narration of the other transactions of the fleet thereon, for being communicated at a future opportunity :” and in his supplementary letter to the Admiralty, dated the 21st of June, he very carefully guards against the too jealous feelings of his officers, by noticing the impossibility of doing justice to their merits on such occasions. “ The commander of a fleet, their lordships know, is unavoidably so confined in his view of the occurrences in time of battle, as to be little capable of rendering personal testimony to the meritorious services of officers, who have profited in a greater extent by the opportunities to distinguish themselves on such occasions. To discharge this part of my duty, *reports were called for from the flag-officers of the fleet*, for supplying the defects of my observance under the limited circumstances above mentioned. Those officers, therefore, who have such particular claim to my attention, are, the Admirals Graves, Sir Alexander Hood, Rear-Admirals *Bowyer*, Gardner, and Pasley, Captain Lord Hugh Seymour, &c.

“The admiral whose flag-ship Captain Collingwood commanded, is there particularly noticed, as one of those who had especial claim to attention; and surely the captain must participate in the intended praise. And if the number of those commanders whose merits were to be discovered by the reports of the admirals in whose squadrons they were, his name is not to be found, it will be remembered from whom the commander-in-chief collected his intelligence; and that, if any omission there were, it must have been his own admiral, and not the commander-in-chief, on whom the blame must rest, in not having distinguished his captain among those who were entitled to impartial praise: if it be not rather to be accounted for in another way, namely, that in the state in which the wounded admiral then was, it devolved upon his captain to make the report—and Captain Collingwood, every one knows, would be more likely to suppress than bring forward anything that might seem to redound to his own praise.

“On his majesty’s visit to the fleet on their return to Spithead, Admiral Bowyer, though unable to receive in person from his sovereign the gold chain and medal appended, was honoured with this distinguishing mark of approbation; and if there were any omission or any delay in the communication of the honour intended in the presentation of medals to the several captains, it may be ascribed to any other cause, rather than to design or disrespect on the part of the commander-in-chief. The absence of Captain Collingwood, no longer the commander of the *Barfleur*, and probably no longer under his lordship’s command, might have rendered it impracticable to present the medal to him when he conferred it upon the several other captains; and to “*the soldier jealous of honour*,” as to the subject of jealousy in other cases, “*trifles light as air are proofs as strong as holy writ*.”

“The smallest delay which might arise from distance of station, accident, or any other cause, might, with an impression already on his mind too favourable to such a suspicion, be construed into design; though nothing could be more improbable than that a man of Lord Howe’s discernment, and without a

motive,—without the smallest ground of previous dislike, but, on the contrary, with a high opinion of the merit of Captain Collingwood—should have intended a slight upon his character, which no other person in the fleet would, he must be well assured, for a single moment entertain. It is, however, certain that this was a subject of offence to Captain Collingwood, and many letters of explanation passed between them ; *but to no purpose.* Whatever might be the conciliatory conduct and language of the commander-in-chief, the captain continued inflexibly to refuse the proffered honour ; and if we cannot admit the premises, we must at least admire the spirit which dictated the conclusion, that he could never condescend to wear that distinction of which he was not thought worthy by his commander-in-chief, but would wait till he should have done something that might entitle him to the honour of wearing it. Well did his subsequent conduct confirm his former spirit, and prove his title both to that and still higher honours !”

‘This explanation is written in a conciliatory spirit, highly becoming the character of a work, the object of which was to maintain the dignity and the discipline of the navy, and better adapted to the date of its publication, than to periods when the facts under consideration have passed from the age of “news of that day” into the dignity of history. It is a proof of Lord Howe’s negligence, in his first despatch, that a supplement was necessary, and so late as the 21st of June, the tone of the supplement is exculpatory and apologetic: he knew, or ought to have known, that Bowyer was wounded early in the action, and, therefore, that Collingwood, personally and alone, fought the ship ; this should have prevented him from the indelicacy of asking such a man to eulogize himself. As to Collingwood’s absence when the king was distributing the medals, how could any man of proper feeling voluntarily participate and contribute to a ceremony which was insulting to his feelings? and that the correspondence between Lord Howe and Captain Collingwood was “to no purpose,” might have been easily foretold by any one who had the happiness

of the injured officer's acquaintance. Pakenham, of the *Invincible*, could have assured his lordship, as he did many others, "that if Collingwood had not deserved a medal, neither did he; for that they were together the whole day." And in return to the inquiries of Admiral Roddam, as to the conduct of his friend Collingwood in the action of the 1st of June, Admiral Bowyer replied, that he did not know a more brave, capable, or a better officer. "I think him," added his own admiral, "a very fine character; and I told Lord Chatham, when he was at Portsmouth, that if ever he had to look for a first-captain to a commander-in-chief, I hoped he would remember that I pledged myself he would not find a better than our friend Collingwood." Now, it will be asked, how and where did Admiral Bowyer acquire this intimate knowledge of Collingwood, for which he pledges his reputation as a sailor? The answer is almost too obvious to be suggested:—on board the *Barfleur*, and on the 1st of June, when by the admiral's misfortune his authority devolved upon his flag-captain. If, therefore, the defence of the *Naval Chronicle* be the best which the commander-in-chief can make for this great error, it must inevitably follow, that his lordship either was aware of Collingwood's merit, and had the injustice and the meanness to ascribe it to the wounded admiral, who lost the opportunity of distinguishing himself ten minutes after the commencement of the action; or, he was not aware of the gallantry of Collingwood, and attempted to justify culpable ignorance and heartless neglect by imperious obstinacy.

But this question, important to the interests of the service, which requires that the rewards of gallantry should be quick, should be immediate, to possess any value, has been very carefully considered by an officer in our navy, at a much more recent period; and we shall now submit, in a condensed form, his professional and equitable view of the grounds of Captain Collingwood's complaint against Lord Hood. First, as to Lord Howe's conduct in the action, which merely consisted in fighting his own ship, Captain Brenton considers that he should have been to windward, in which case his orders would

most probably have been better executed; although this would have made little difference to the officers individually, as, with the exception of being named in Lord Hood's letter, those who did, and those who did not obey, experienced nearly the same treatment. But the fact is, Lord Howe's great age is the best explanation that can be given for his taking up the position he did in the battle, for his allowing the remnant of the beaten fleet to escape, and for his neglect of some of the most meritorious officers in his fleet.

"Worn out," says the author of the Naval History, "with five successive days of fatigue, two of which were passed in severe fighting, it is not surprising that, at the age of seventy-two years, he should have felt incapable of further exertion. I have deeply and maturely considered the conduct of the British admiral after this victory; and now (1840) am fully impressed with the conviction that he should not have allowed Villaret to depart, and that he should have proceeded off Brest, with the least possible delay, to reap the fruits of his victory. Of this I have reason to believe he was made sensible when it was too late, and probably regretted for the few years of life that remained to him, that he had permitted a beaten and a flying enemy, with an inferior number of ships, to rescue five sail of the line, which, if they had not surrendered, required no more than a summons to have done so." From this extract, the reader will perceive, that a naval officer of much experience gives it as his cool, deliberate opinion, that there was misconduct, or stupidity, or both, manifested on this occasion, which he appears desirous of attributing to the great age of the commander-in-chief. That our fleet was capable of renewing the engagement, is also proved by a remarkable passage in one of Captain Collingwood's letters already quoted, in which he says, "We left off in admirable good plight," &c.

When Lord Howe arrived at Spithead on the 13th of June, he was received with that hearty welcome, which the people of England have never failed to give to their gallant brethren of the sea, on occasion of their return from the scene of

battle. "The royal family came down to Portsmouth, and went on board the *Queen Charlotte*, when his majesty on the quarter-deck presented Lord Howe with a diamond-hilted sword, valued at 3000 guineas; and suitable marks of admiration were bestowed upon the admirals and captains: to the former he ordered gold medals in commemoration of their services, to be worn round their necks with a gold chain; to the latter, the same medals, to be suspended from the button-hole of the coat by a blue and white riband. Admiral Graves was created an Irish peer, with the title of Lord Graves; Sir Alexander Hood, Viscount Bridport; Vice-Admiral Gardner, and Rear-Admirals Pasly, Curtis, and Bowyer, were created baronets. All the first lieutenants of the ships of the line were promoted to the rank of commanders, a precedent then established: many lieutenants were also promoted to that rank out of the *Queen Charlotte*, and from the other flag-ships in proportion. Rear-Admirals Pasly and Bowyer, having each lost a leg, received a pension of £1000 a year in addition to their honours."

"On the 30th of November, 1796, more than two years after the action, every officer mentioned in Lord Howe's letter received his gold medal: *and this caused much jealousy and heart-burnings in the service.* At this distance of time there is no indelicacy in saying that the distinction and omissions were in many instances unjust. Every officer in a general action is entitled either to approbation or censure: if he does his duty, let him have his reward; if he does not, let him be displaced by another and a better man: in this point of view there were many good and gallant men very ill-treated: Schomberg of the *Culloden*; Bazeley, of the *Alfred*; Elphinstone, of the *Glory*; Collingwood, of the *Barfleur*; and some others."* Here is the manly, straight-forward testimony of an experienced sailor, that Collingwood's conduct, in complaining of ill-usage, originated neither in an overweening opinion of his own superiority, or a pettishness of manner, and that he was perfectly correct in not becoming reconciled to a

* Brenton's *Naval History*, vol. 1. p. 154, &c.

patched-up remedy, such as the old admiral would have applied to his wounded honour. In Howe's earlier days there was something bluff, morose, and austere in his manner, and the following anecdote, while it relieves the reader uninitiated in naval affairs, and therefore less interested in the settlement of this professional nicety, establishes this fact against his lordship's temper. When Howe was captain of the *Magnanime*, during a cruise off the coast of France a gale of wind obliged him to anchor. It was on a lee-shore, and the night was dark and rainy. After everything had been made snug, the ship rode with two anchors ahead, depending entirely on her ground-tackle. The captain being laid up with the gout, in itself sufficient to ruffle a temper otherwise calm, was reading in his cabin, when the lieutenant of the watch came in, with a face of woe, and said, "he was sorry to inform him that the anchors came home." "They are much in the right of it," replied Captain Howe coolly, "I don't know who would stay out such a night as this is." If all Lord Howe's moroseness had been equally harmless as this reply, Collingwood's feelings had never been injured by any act of his.

It will be remembered that Captain Collingwood was not present at the reception of his majesty at Portsmouth, his heart was too full to permit him to appear there ; and no longer flag-captain of Admiral Bowyer, whose wound incapacitated him at that period for active service, he accepted the command of the *Hector*, to which he was appointed on the 7th of August, 1794. After a brief service in this ship, he removed into the *Excellent*, 74 guns, in which he so firmly established his reputation as one of our greatest naval characters, that his name will survive while the history of past ages continues to be the example of those that follow. Between Nelson and Collingwood, friendship appeared to acquire strength almost daily, from their uninterrupted correspondence, and the real simplicity of feeling as officers, as men, as Christians. They were both conspicuous for ardent devotion to the service of their country ; and at this period, both (Nelson had not yet become infatuated with Lady Hamilton) were most affectionately

attached to the interesting women they had chosen as wives; and an honourable retirement, and the enjoyment of their society, whenever their country could spare their services, constituted equally the *summum bonum* of both.

During the early month of 1796, the Excellent was employed blockading Toulon, in the harbour of which place seventeen sail of the French fleet lay snugly anchored; and it was at one of Collingwood's peeps into the harbour, that he had the good fortune to escape being cut down to the water's edge by the Princess Royal. By his presence of mind, however, when that vessel ran on board the Excellent, the crew were saved, and the loss sustained was confined to the destruction of the bowsprit and foremast. Sailing for Ajaccio, in the island of Corsica, he there succeeded in restoring his ship to her former state of serviceableness, although the assistance obtained from the inhabitants of the place itself was worthless, from the rude and barbarous state of society in that island. He described it as more vile and infamous than San Fiorenzo, and a place where the point of the dagger was more frequently employed to terminate litigation than the powers of reasoning, or the just administration of law.

From this infamous and lawless port, he returned to the duty of watching the enemy, and off Toulon had the mortification of seeing the French merchant-vessels creeping along shore without being able to molest them, although his crew were much in need of vegetables, and other fresh stores. Corsica afforded nothing for our fleet but hogs, and those at a very high price, but his hatred of the people and the country was equal to Nelson's. He thought neither were capable of amelioration, and that the money we expended there did not increase our influence." "Paoli," said Collingwood, "in England could stir the whole country to revolt and rebellion, by expressing his wish that it should be so on a quarter of a sheet of paper. He was head of the Jesuits' college at Naples, and is an artful man, whose life has been a continued scene of intrigue; he does not profess arms, and I heard at Ajaccio, from some Corsicans, that he was never in a field of battle." In the letter to

Mr. Blackett which contains the preceding opinion of Paoli's character, and of Corsican politics, he pours out his regret at the state of his own country also. "The tumultuous associations and clubs in England, and the license they have taken in their acts and publications, afflict me: some attach themselves to violent parties from an unhappy disposition, delighting in whatever is turbulent; some from fashion; and very many from folly, being entirely incapable of judging of the propriety of the measures which they censure."

His patience seems to have been heavily taxed by the long-protracted duty of observing the movements of the hostile fleet, but as the year 1796 approached its close, that great opportunity of distinction which he had so long, so anxiously sought, was drawing near, when he inscribed the name of Collingwood for ever amongst the naval heroes of Great Britain. This memorable occasion was offered on the 14th of February, (St. Valentine's day, 1797,) when the Spanish fleet had the boldness to engage ours under Sir John Jervis, commander-in-chief, off Cape St. Vincent.

In this day's engagement, which will ever stand pre-eminent among the many actions in which the British flag has maintained its wonted superiority, against numbers, rate, or weight of metal, the Excellent took a most distinguished part. To the penetrating genius, the quick discernment, the enterprising spirit, and never-failing resources of a Nelson, combining with the rare and matchless powers of his mind, the most active personal exertions; with the consummate skill of the most able and experienced commander, the daring hardihood of a common seamen; not the public only, but the companions and witnesses of his intrepidity and skill, have always ascribed the successful occurrence by which fifteen ships of inferior force were able to dispute the day with twenty-seven of the Spanish line, and seven of those of the first-rate; and not only to contend, but to carry off four of them as the prizes and triumphs of their superior gallantry.

The achievements of the brave Nelson on that occasion have been already recorded; but while we contemplate with aston-

ishment, what the French would call the prodigies of valour, which he effected by his wonderful genius, and the actual services of his own ship, we do not forget the obligations which their country owes to every man who bore a part in a contest perhaps the most unequal, and a victory, all circumstances considered, the most extraordinary that our naval annals can furnish. So great and splendid were the successive triumphs of our navy in those years of war and revolution, that one frequently chased another out of remembrance, and men were apt to overlook the past, or at least the most striking features of former victories, in contemplating the subsequent and more recent successes with which our naval contests were uniformly crowned.

“What’s the newest victory?

That of an hour’s age doth hiss the speaker,
Each minute teems a new one.”

These lines appear, as if by some prescience of England’s history, the bard of Avon wrote them. But great and extraordinary as were the triumphs which British skill and prowess achieved at subsequent periods, never can the honour of our navy rise higher than on that glorious day; and had we nothing else to immortalize the fame of our hero, it would be a monument as permanent as old Time’s records, that the name of Collingwood was amongst the foremost of the brave and triumphant heroes of St. Valentine’s day. There is no intention here to detract from the conspicuous merit of the companions of his victory; where every man did his duty, and every man must have done it to the full extent of human powers, it would seem invidious to dwell upon the exclusive merits of any one who bore a part in this glorious victory; but justice to the too long neglected merits of a brave and distinguished officer palliates our conduct, if palliation were requisite, in claiming a peculiar share of that praise which is the honourable portion of Captain Collingwood.

When the Spanish fleet hove in sight on the 13th of February, and began to fire her signal-guns, the British fleet immediately formed a compact body, and received orders to

fall on, from their intrepid admiral. Early on the following morning, when they appeared in a disorderly scattered manner approaching our fleet, the English "flew to them as a hawk to his prey," dashed through their wide-spread plan, separated their whole squadron into two sections and then tacked on the larger one. The Excellent engaged the Salvador del Mundo, 112 guns, which, after a few discharges from her enemy, hauled down her colours. Collingwood, in his accustomed chivalrous style, passed away from the fallen foe to one more worthy of his bravery, and next encountered the San Isidro, 74 guns, which in ten minutes more struck her colours also. Still making sail, the Excellent now came to the assistance of the Captain, in which Nelson had been long engaged with the San Nicolas 80 guns, and San Josef 112, and continued to pour her broadsides into the former, or rather into both, for the shot passed through, until both were silent.

Having saved his friend, he proceeded onward, in perhaps the most splendid path of gallantry and glory known of any individual, and engaging the Santissima Trinidad, the Spanish admiral Cordova's ship, of 132 guns and four complete decks, fought her for one hour, nor desisted until she was a complete wreck. In speaking of the wonders of this day, he said, the 1st of June bore no proportion to St. Valentine's day, and that he almost felt a satisfaction that Lord Howe's victory was outdone, because their merit was not acknowledged when due; here it was otherwise. "*There*," said Collingwood, "the number of ships was nearly equal; *here* the enemy was nearly double, 28 guns more would have made them double our force: *there*, they had only two three-deckers, and we had eight or nine; *here* the enemy had six three-deckers, and one (the Santissima Trinidad) of four decks, while we had only two first-rates and four 90-gun ships; and of our fifteen ships, one was a little 64, the Diadem."

The fortune, the lot, of Collingwood in this splendid victory were different from those of the 1st of June, although his merit was exactly equal. Never was more conspicuous heroism displayed on the ocean, than by the captain of the

Excellent. On this memorable day, and to one who has served his country so long, so nobly, it must have been a painful feeling to have his services overlooked, as they had been, by Lord Howe. Like the storm on the ocean, that rages so fiercely at first, then settles into repose, the anger of Collingwood subsided into quiet contempt for the author of the insult, and all other sensations now withdrew, to admit those of joy and thankfulness for another great victory over our enemies, in the report of which their just merit was accorded to every actor in the tremendous tragedy. Lord^{*}St. Vincent was too high-minded to be niggard of his praise, and was most judicious in his manner of distributing it. He lauded the conduct of all the brave fellows who commanded on that day setting down their names literally in the inverse order of their renown: having stated, that Troubridge was an honour to the navy from the masterly style in which he led the squadron through the enemy, he proceeds to speak of still more eminent men in the history of his country. "Commodore Nelson, who was in the rear, on the starboard tack, took the lead on the larboard, and contributed very much to the fortune of the day, as did *Captain Collingwood*." Thus, with admirable taste, and the most excellent judgment, his lordship spoke last and least of these splendid fellows whom he knew to be less in need of his approbation.

So well did Nelson estimate the great genius of Collingwood, that when he perceived that his friend was approaching to reinforce this squadron, he exclaimed, with great joy and confidence in the talents and bravery of her captain, "See here comes the Excellent, which is as good as two added to our number." And the support which he subsequently received from that vessel in this great day, he gratefully acknowledged in the following laconic note of thanks: "My Dear Coll! A friend in need, is a friend indeed." This acknowledgment was replied to in the spirit of the original, for which the reader is referred to the life of Nelson: * but these little interchanges of affection did not complete the great measure of gratitude which Nelson considered due to

his heroic friend. His first account of the fortunes of this day was probably addressed to Captain Locker, whom he seems to have regarded with a degree of affection amounting almost to veneration ; his second narrative was directed to his firm friend the Duke of Clarence. The contents of both these inimitable productions will be found in our memoir of the hero himself, but a single passage must be repeated here, for the honour of both Nelson and Collingwood. "At this time," observed the hero of the Nile, "the *Salvador del Mundo*, and the *San Isidro* dropped astern, and were fired into in a masterly style by the *Excellent*, Captain Collingwood, who compelled the *San Isidro* to hoist English colours : and I thought the large ship, the *Salvador del Mundo*, had also struck ; but Captain Collingwood, disdaining the parade of taking possession of a vanquished enemy, most gallantly pushed up, with every sail set, to save his old friend and messmate, who was to appearance in a crippled state. The *Barfleur* being ahead, the *Culloden* crippled and astern, the *Excellent* ranged up within two feet of the *San Nicolas*, giving a most tremendous fire. The *San Nicolas* luffing up, the *San Josef* fell on board her, and the *Excellent* passing on for the *Santissima Trinidad*, the Captain (Nelson's ship) resumed her station ahead of them, and close alongside." This is Nelson's testimony to the truth of Captain Collingwood's account of his own conduct on this day, in his private letters to his wife and her relations, and we have already quoted the confirmation of the same by Lord St. Vincent : they differ in this respect, that our hero's own narration suppresses part of his glory—his commander's and his honourable friend's revealed the whole. That the attack of the *Excellent* upon the monster man-of-war, the *Santissima Trinidad*, did not succeed, is not to be attributed to the failure of courage or strength in the crew of the former, but to the unfortunate fact of one of our vessels being so placed, that her fire passed over and impeded the efforts of the *Excellent*.

Nor did this failure excite disappointment, his success would have created wonder ; and, indeed, Collingwood's bravery on this day drew forth the warmest and most rapturous testimony

of approbation from every officer in the fleet; Captain Dacres, of the *Barfleur*, congratulated him upon the style in which the Excellent bore herself in the fight; and Admiral Waldegrave concludes his congratulatory note with these affectionate and honourable terms: "May God bless you, my good friend; and may England long possess such men as yourself; it is saying everything for her glory."

After the battle off St. Vincent, the Spaniards escaped to Cadiz, where they were followed by part of our fleet—Nelson having gone upon a detached service—and closely blockaded. This restriction on their liberty was as discreditable to their fleet as its complete defeat at sea, their number in harbour amounting to thirty sail, while that of the blockading squadron was only nineteen.

After this splendid victory, his majesty ordered medals to be struck, and presented to the most meritorious officers, amongst whom our hero was one of the most conspicuous; and, in further proof of his respect and admiration of Collingwood's naval services, he desired that a medal for the first of June should accompany that for the battle of St. Vincent. "This latter compliment," says Collingwood "was paid to me, *in spite of Lord Howe*."

When the medal for the first of June was presented to Captain Collingwood, he respectfully but firmly refused to accept it until a similar reward was conferred upon him for his services under Lord Howe; adding, that he would be accessary to his own dishonour, if he accepted the medal for his recent services. Lord St. Vincent, who was present, approved of his determination, and declared that he had anticipated his reply exactly. Both medals were forwarded together, by desire of the king, and accompanied by an apology for the detention of the first that was deserved, by the first lord of the admiralty, Lord Spencer.

The blockade of Cadiz continued through the year 1797, and two following years, in the former of which a frightful mutiny took place amongst the crews of the Mediterranean fleet, which, by the cool determination of Lord St. Vincent,

was happily suppressed. A similar reprehensible feeling had manifested itself in the ships off Spithead, and violence accompanied the unfortunate mutiny of the *Nore*; in short, a spirit of insubordination at this period pervaded the whole navy of Great Britain. Nelson took an active part in repressing the monster termed "mutiny," in one part of our navy; Collingwood applied the great powers of his mind to correct this abuse of liberty in another. He had long foreseen the approach of discontent amongst the humble classes of society in our own kingdom; and while he deprecated the growth of republicanism, and anxiously hoped for the return of peace to his country, he gave his attention most sedulously to the best means of enduring an inevitable distemper, and of curing it entirely at no distant period. So much thought had he given to what may be called secondary punishments, that, without having recourse to flogging for twelvemonths at a time, his ship was one of the most orderly in the fleet. Considering that corporal punishment degrades the men too much in self-respect, he avoided that ultimate measure by every possible mode; and so many expedients did he introduce for the purpose, that the commander-in-chief at length recommended that all refractory spirits should be drafted into the *Excellent*, out of which he declared they would come better members of society, and more respected by their companions and themselves. Collingwood possessed a considerable advantage over many officers in the service: his appearance and manners were mild and affable, his voice subdued, gentle, and encouraging; but when he issued an order, or delivered an admonition, the most extraordinary decision appeared to accompany every sentence that he uttered.

Nor were these the only points in which his personal superiority consisted: his language was eloquent, clear, and persuasive, and in composition few private gentlemen ever excelled him. Our language affords no instance of the simple, unaffected expression of feeling, and narrative of events, written as Collingwood's letters to his family, that possess more natural elegance than the collection given to the world by the admiral's

son-in-law. A refractory sailor, who had pointed a gun at his officers on board the *Romulus*, came on board the *Excellent*, where the calm but resolute eloquence of the captain completely subdued his ferocity. Amongst the Collingwood code of secondary punishments, perhaps few were more efficacious than "watering the grog," "exclusion from mess," and "extra duty," always of the meanest kind. These produced the most salutary consequences, but considerably increased the quantity of reclaiming duty imposed upon Captain Collingwood.

Few men possessed so acute a sensitiveness as to the subordination of their ship's crew ; and it is known that he could never endure the application of the term mutiny to any occurrence that took place in his ship. One of his officers having represented the conduct of certain men on board the *Excellent* as "mutinous," the captain instantly exclaimed, "What ! mutiny in *my* ship ? then it must be my fault, or the fault of my officers, and must be gravely inquired into." His constant policy was, if possible, to supersede the necessity of resorting to a court-martial, or even punishment by his own authority ; and though he possessed too much of the wisdom of experience to undervalue the importance of supporting discipline, he would have resorted to almost any expedients, even such as were ludicrous, to evade the employment of the lash on board his ship.

To his officers he uniformly manifested the most kind and gentlemanly bearing : possessed of the most perfect knowledge of the duty of an officer and a sailor, he soon detected the most trifling instance of error and neglect, and conveyed his reproof in language that corrected, conciliated, and communicated instruction. In the issuing of orders he was most cautious to abstain from demanding anything unnecessary, distressing, or vexatious, having himself often experienced such an exercise of power and authority on the part of his seniors ; and in another respect, namely, an economic management of ship's stores, perhaps no naval officer ever acted with more devoted attention to the interests of his country. In a letter to Lord de Saumarez, touching the variation in the cost of

sailing different ships, he observed : " The difference I observe in this is immense : some men, who have the foresight to discern what their first difficulty will be, support and provide their ships by enchantment, one scarce knows how ; while others, less provident, would exhaust a dock-yard, and still be in want. I do not think these gentlemen should go to sea : they certainly do not regard, or feel for, the future necessities of their country."

It was during the blockade of Cadiz, that Nelson obtained Lord St. Vincent's permission to go on an expedition to Teneriffe ; an undertaking that can only be viewed as evidencing the insurpassable bravery of the former, and the implicit confidence of the commander in his gallantry and skill. Collingwood, however, saw the whole attempt in a different light, and, although no man in the navy entertained a higher opinion of Nelson's genius, yet, had he been chief, the expedition to Teneriffe would never have been undertaken. Collingwood's account of this affair is an inimitable production, written in the most playful style, but a playfulness based on a clear perception of just and reasonable probabilities. " My friend Nelson," says he, " whose spirit is equal to all undertakings, and whose resources are fitted to all occasions, was sent with three sail of the line, and some other ships, to Teneriffe, to surprise and capture it. After a series of adventures, tragic and comic, that belong to romance, they were obliged to abandon their enterprise. The priests at this place were instrumental in saving Troubridge and his brave companions from annihilation ; for seeing that nothing could arrest the progress of these dauntless fellows, they requested that the governor would grant any terms to those mad Englishmen, to get rid of them. This worthy man felt the prudence of the advice, and was literally delighted with the extravagant bravery of British sailors ; he, therefore, gave them leave to depart, furnished them with boats, as their own had been staved in at landing, and supplied every man with a loaf of bread and a pint of wine." Such is the account given by Collingwood of this wild expedition, which did not assuredly detract from the high character of our

sailors, but, on the contrary, even by its failure acquired for them the warm admiration of their generous enemies.

The year 1798 opened, and found the *Excellent* still on the blockading station off Cadiz; the same dull round continued, the same difficulty existed, in maintaining order amongst our inactive crews; and the exertion of the same master-mind was called for, to occupy and engage the feelings of the men. In the absence, or rather after having tried numerous other modes of employing the leisure hours of his men, he had now recourse to the manufacture of musical instruments, and the formation of a band. In this attempt he was eminently successful, and on every moonlight night the sailors had a merry dance on board, to the pleasing sounds of numerous instruments, and occasionally to the notes of the bagpipes. Of the latter agreeable accompaniment they were for a while deprived, in consequence of the invasion of the rats, who actually devoured the bellows; for this offence the fullest vengeance was obtained, every spare man in the ship being at once employed in constructing rat-traps for the extermination of the mischievous race. With such scenes as these, repeated a hundredfold, the crew of the *Excellent* continued to while away those hours, which they would gladly have employed more gloriously, had the courage of the Spaniards been only equal to their strength and numbers. Of this monotonous life he frequently complained in his correspondence with his family, particularly during the latter period of that service. "Our situation here," he observed, "is more dull than it was last summer, for then some little Spaniard did fall in our way, and afforded something to talk of; now the whole is a blank, and one day so like another, that we want incidents to mark the time withal. The arrival of a mail from England is a grand epocha." He regretted seriously the detention of the fleet in its then inactive circumstances for many reasons, but from none more than because it induced insubordination, and its deplorable results; to this too just an occasion for sorrow, was added the misfortune of being obliged to receive and encounter, in the detachments that arrived from England, many refractory and ungo-

vernable spirits, whose conduct demanded the investigation of a court-martial, and was of necessity punished with death.

We have now traced the brave and meritorious subject of our memoir in two of our greatest naval victories which this revolutionary war had produced. We have beheld with wonder the prodigies of valour which he performed in both, and we have followed him from these scenes of terror, to a station where the operations of the fleet were virtually suspended, but where the resources and versatility of every officer were tested, in the invention and application of the best and most salutary mode of occupying their respective crews; for it is to occupation that a state, as well as a fleet of ships, is mainly indebted for the tranquillity and good order of its members. In all situations we have noticed talent, adapted to any human pursuit, of a very high order, and in that which he selected for himself, as being more brightly illumined with glory, equal to every part of it, and every duty, however irksome, which could fall to the share of an officer. It was not his happy lot to have been selected as one of Nelson's companions in the search for the French Mediterranean fleet, nor in the subsequent most glorious battle of the Nile. For this great achievement Nelson was reserved by Providence, and England cannot but feel a lasting debt of gratitude to Lord St. Vincent, for his selection of that great commander on an occasion when the results were likely to be of so much importance to the world.

The selection of Sir Horatio Nelson, in May 1798, to command the detachment destined to the coast of Egypt, gave so much umbrage to his senior officers in the fleet, that considerable discontent was produced, and the intercourse of the ships was restrained for some time by order of the Earl of St. Vincent. Of this order Collingwood justly complained, as it forbade "the only thing like comfort which was still left to them, the interchange of friendship between the officers," and so strict was the command, that the admirals and the captains were not at liberty to entertain at dinner any person not belonging to their own ships. With respect to the appointment of Nelson to the command of the squadron that was to win immortal honours at

the mouth of the Nile, while others too openly expressed their discontent, particularly Sir William Parker and Sir John Orde, who wrote to Lord Spencer on the subject; Collingwood endeavoured to reconcile all parties by his example of diligence, although, as he says, "like every body else in the fleet, he wished himself at home."

Had he envied the lot of Nelson, or felt more than any man desirous of covering himself with glory would experience at being left behind, these sentiments must have transpired in his communications with home, for he was a man who practised neither mystery nor concealment, but, on the contrary, in letters of the sincerest affection which he addressed to his wife and Mr. Blackett, laid open his whole heart upon every question. In these he expresses the warmest regard for Sir Horatio, who, he said, was then in a field for the exertion of his great talents, and he hoped his good fortune would not forsake him on that occasion,—and again, he hoped Nelson would dispose of the French in a way in which they would no longer be troublesome to Europe. This was the generous language of his letters, while others were railing either against the commander-in-chief or their own fortune, for having not only excluded them from a participation in the honours of an action, but for having imposed unhandsome restrictions upon the officers of the fleet. And every doubt as to his genuine, generous feelings towards Nelson becomes dissipated by the perusal of his letter of congratulation to the conqueror after the battle of Aboukir.*

On the 28th of October 1798, after he had written the congratulatory letter to Nelson, he sent an *exposè* of his disappointed feelings to his friend Captain Ball, in which he congratulates all parties at having had such a commander, and bewails his lot that he was not amongst them. "Oh, my dear Ball, how I have lamented that I was not one of you! Many a victory has been won, and I hope many are yet to come, but there never has been, nor will be perhaps again, one in which the fruits have been so completely gathered, the blow so nobly followed up, and the consequences so fairly brought

* Vide Life of Nelson, Vol. iii. p. 152.

to account. *I have been almost broken-hearted all the summer.* My ship was in as perfect order for any service as those which were sent; in zeal I will yield to none; and my friendship, my love for your admiral gave me a particular interest in serving with him. I saw them preparing to leave us, and to leave me, with pain; but our *good* chief found employment for me, and, to *occupy my mind*, sent me to cruise off St. Luccas, to interrupt the market-boats, the poor cabbage-carriers. Oh, humiliation! But for the consciousness that I did not deserve degradation from any hand, and that my good estimation would not be depreciated in the minds of honourable men by the caprice of power, I should have died with indignation.”*

The reader of the preceding able, beautiful apostrophe of a generous but heart-sick spirit, will at once conclude, that the treatment of Collingwood on this occasion was involved in more mysterious circumstances than met the eye—seated, perhaps, upon some hidden causes in the human heart, now never likely to be developed. Nelson had often publicly acknowledged the splendid qualities of Collingwood, and professed for him an ardent affection; yet it nowhere appears that he had ever asked for his co-operation in the meditated annihilation of the French fleet. Had he forgotten the battle of St. Vincent, which he outlived by the friendship and heroism of Collingwood? That Nelson might have included the Excellent in his chosen squadron is probable, because the commander, who, placed him over the heads of senior officers in the navy, and sent him on a secret and perilous service, could not well refuse to grant him associates of his own selection. It was certainly not the province of Lord St. Vincent to impose on Nelson any ship which he pleased, while the responsibility of the expedition was wholly his. Hence it would follow, that Nelson intentionally omitted the Excellent from the list of vessels which he wished should accompany him. The reasons for the omission are now buried with him, but the conclusions of conjecture are sufficiently obvious. Lord St. Vincent was not in any degree culpable; and the complaints of Colling-

* Correspondence of Lord Collingwood, 4to, p. 63.

wood of ignominious treatment, are attributable rather to the disappointment and anguish he sustained at being left behind, and which he disdained to ascribe to its real author, than to the severity of his admiral, who dealt with similar rigidity to all indiscriminately, as well from his natural temperament, as owing to the mutinous spirit which had reached, and then pervaded, the Mediterranean fleet.

The Excellent was now reported to be in want of repairs, and, to the inexpressible joy of Collingwood, ordered home to England. Arriving at Spithead in December, 1799, and as his ship was to be paid off, he resolved not to quit Portsmouth until every man was disposed of. While thus engaged in this farewell duty, he received an offer, from Lord Spencer, of the *Atlas pro tempore*; but such was his desire to see his wife and daughters, that he pleaded urgent and indispensable business as his excuse, such as would render it particularly inconvenient for him to go to sea at that moment.

From Portsmouth he proceeded to the north, and once again rejoined his little family circle; an enjoyment which no men in existence value so much, or derive more sincere happiness from, than sailors; and Collingwood, in particular, cherished the strongest ties of love for his wife and children to his last moments. A few weeks rolled by, and Fame once more spread her wings, and flew towards the peaceful home of the hero, taunting him with sluggishness, and informing him of his new and well-merited honours; for, on the 14th of February, 1799, on the general promotion of flag-officers, he was raised to the rank of rear-admiral of the white. On the 12th of May, in the same year, he was again called to aid in the service of his country, and in recovering the peace of Europe, which Napoleon seemed determined upon destroying, for the gratification of a boundless ambition. Commissioned to the *Triumph*, he set sail from Portsmouth, and joined the Channel fleet, then under the command of Lord Bridport. After one month's continuance on this station, the *Triumph* was included in a squadron of twelve sail of the line, placed under Sir Charles Cotton, and despatched to the Mediterranean as a reinforce-

ment to Lord Keith, who was then opposed in that sea by the greater portion of the French and Spanish navies.

When the *Triumph* entered the Mediterranean, she was ordered to proceed to Port Mahon, and having once anchored in that narrow harbour, from which egress is always tedious, there the captain received his orders from Lord St. Vincent, whose indisposition obliged him to reside on shore at Gibraltar, and executed them but imperfectly, from the inconvenience of his situation. It was while the *Triumph* was protecting Minorca that Collingwood foretold both the escape and destination of the French fleet: he concluded that the disposition of the British ships left her enemies at liberty to go where they pleased, and it was his opinion that they would make for Brest. This singular instance of that foresight which appears to belong to men of lofty genius was soon fully verified, for on the 21st of July the combined fleets of France and Spain, the latter just amounting to upwards of forty sail of the line, escaped from Carthagea, hurried through the Straits of Gibraltar, and bore away for Brest. On the 30th of July they were followed by the Earl St. Vincent, who hoisted his flag on board the *Ville de Paris*, taking Lord Keith under his command, ordered him to sail for Cape del Mell, where being joined by Sir Alexander Gardner with seventeen ships of the line, he made sail for Brest, arrived off that harbour on the 14th of August, the very day, or, more precisely, only six hours after the enemy had entered it. Perceiving that they all lay snug in that asylum, Lord Keith steered for Torbay, where he arrived safely on the 16th, and there found the Channel fleet.

Here then, in August 1799, was the most powerful assemblage of ships ever seen in Great Britain: it consisted of fifty-six sail of the line, exclusive of frigates and sloops, all fully manned, and ready for action. It was Collingwood's decided opinion that the enemy's fleet ought not to have escaped, and it was only reasonable to expect that they would have been intercepted: the disappointment in the fleet was general, but our hero had despaired of performing any thing on this cruise, from the moment he was ordered to Port Mahon.

The combined fleet felt too sensibly the value of their security, and the good fortune of their escape, to tempt their fate once more, and continued at anchor, though not contentedly, (for mutual jealousy existed between the officers of both nations.) for a much longer time than they had ever contemplated. During the short period that the *Triumph* lay in Torbay, Collingwood repeated his constant and anxious inquiries for his wife and children, and having shifted his flag on board the *Barfleur*, from that ship wrote to his father-in-law in language of an affecting character. "Would to God," he writes, "that this war were happily concluded! It is anguish enough to me to be thus for ever separated from my family. If it were peace, I do not think there would be a happier set of creatures in Northumberland than we should be;" and again, from on board the *Neptune*, off Brest, a few months after, he exhibits the same devoted affection for his family, and the same longing for an opportunity of returning home with honour to himself and them. "I do assure you, when I reflect on my long absence from all that can make me happy, it is very painful to me; and what day is there that I do not lament the continuance of this war!"

From Torbay the admiral proceeded with the Channel fleet, then under command of Lord Bridport, to watch the coast of France, and aid in the blockade of Brest harbour. On this dull duty he continued during the year 1800, at the close of which year he had encouraged his wife to come to Plymouth to meet him. This excellent woman, never jealous of the well-known love of glory which actuated her gallant husband, and alone detained him for one moment from her society, undertook this serious journey; but her fates were not very propitious in rewarding her for the too faithful performance of a duty. While the admiral was in daily expectation of his wife's arrival, his friend Lord Nelson was his constant companion, and often his guest on board ship: but as he found some difficulty in getting in and out of a ship, owing to the loss of his arm, he dined on board the *Barfleur* less frequently than both friends wished. The movements of the

fleet became now uncertain, and orders were hourly arriving for the different ships to put to sea, and on the very day that Mrs. Collingwood's arrival was expected, an express was received directing the admiral to go to sea immediately with every ship that was in readiness; and he would actually have sailed that hour, but that he was detained by the proceedings of a court-martial. Lord Nelson, perceiving the probability that these two beings, so tenderly attached to each other, would be deprived of their long-expected meeting, wrote to Collingwood from Cawsand bay, desiring that he would remain on shore that night, that he would also go over and dine with him; and if the fates proved kind, his wife might arrive in the course of that evening. He submitted to the kind interposition of his friend, and while they were seated at dinner, the arrival of Mrs. Collingwood and her daughter was announced. That night only, the admiral passed with his little family, for at dawn on the following day they parted, and the *Barfleur* put out to sea. 'There cannot be a more convincing proof of his inflexible observance of his duty to his king and country, than his resignation in this instance; for it is an indisputable truth, that with affection for his wife his heart overflowed. "I am thankful," said this amiable and noble man, "that I did see my wife and my sweet child: it was a blessing to me, and composed my mind, which was before very much agitated."

Sailing from Plymouth, Collingwood resumed his station in the fleet, and continued to cruise off the coast of France, and the inaction of such service seemed now more tiresome to him than ever, particularly in consequence of the total neglect, if not actual stoppage, to the transmission of letters. Although a prospect of peace was not very distant, (thanks to the invincible navy of these realms!) fresh ships arrived to strengthen the Channel fleet, almost every week: the object of this manœuvre on the part of our government being the assemblage of a sufficient fleet in the Channel to overawe the French, and to admit of the deduction of a squadron to observe the conduct of the French in the reduction of St. Domingo. Peace, how-

ever, was proclaimed—the result of the treaty of Amiens—and when Collingwood arrived off Spithead, in the month of January 1802, he looked forward with sanguine expectations of being able to pass the remainder of his life in an honourable retirement, gladdened during every fleeting moment by the society of his wife and children.

'The service on which our hero had just been employed, was by no means congenial to his feelings; he had opportunity of doing nothing more than effectually blockading the enemy's fleet in their own port, while they were proudly vaunting of their preparations for invading us: a service not less important to the honour, the interest, and the security of the nation, than those more brilliant achievements which dazzle the public eye, and meet the popular sentiment—which counts only upon victories, and estimates the talents and services of our naval heroes rather by their good fortune, than by their virtues—by the number of their prizes, than by their judicious arrangements, and patient endurance of toil and peril in the prevention of mischief, and the execution of plans that furnish no opportunities to display the more shining qualities and services which are the objects of popular admiration and applause.

In the estimation of the statesman, and in the opinion of those who adjust their judgment by another standard than that of success, the brave and persevering Cornwallis, patient of toil, and unwearied in the execution of an arduous trust, will be ranked with the conquerors of the Nile and Trafalgar: and though to the feelings of himself, and the companions of a laborious and irksome service, may have been wanting those gratifications which fell to the lot of others more fortunately placed, and their praises were not re-echoed in the senate or the public prints; though no ephemeral demonstrations or high-sounding titles rewarded their merits while they lived, or sculptured monuments recorded their services after death, those services will dwell for ever in the grateful remembrance of all those who are competent to appreciate the security which this country by their means enjoyed; and the pages of history will convey to posterity the venerated names of

those to whom England owes the proud honour of having displayed the British flag, from day to day, upon the coasts of the enemy's country, and this at the very moment that they were holding forth the terrors of invasion, to excite the fears of the nation, and lead us to expect them on our own.

In this state of inaction, in which there was little left for our navy to perform, was the subject of this memoir employed until the blast of war had died away, and the gentle voice of peace was heard again: then, in all the confidence of integrity, which a nation, conscious of its own sincerity, is too apt to place in the pacific dispositions and professions of its enemies, our navy began to be dismantled, and our naval heroes were permitted to retire from the fatigues of service, to visit their native land, to enjoy a repose from the toils and perils of war, and refresh themselves for a contest which they were but too soon, for the happiness of Europe, called upon to renew.

It is hardly the province of the biographer of a public man to step aside from the narration of those great national events in which his hero was concerned, and look into the mode in which he passed his hours of private life. There are some public benefactors, whose private lives would not admit of such a test, and the historian who wishes well to his country is probably justified in omitting that part of their characters: but such is not the case in the domestic biography of Admiral Collingwood, who was not less an example of every private virtue, than of the most intrepid and noble public conduct. Returned once more to Morpeth, he might there be seen anxiously superintending the education of two tenderly loved daughters, and indulging in those literary habits which he had adopted and cultivated at sea with that success which is exhibited in his correspondence, the style and elegance of which have before now received the praises of our most eminent modern statesmen and diplomatists. His seat was on the bank of the river Wansbeck, in a position of considerable beauty, and the admiral passed much time in the improvement of his pleasure grounds and garden. Here, surrounded by his amiable and interesting family, the great man enjoyed his honourable leisure, and, like the Roman

dictator whom the senate's ambassadors discovered guiding the plough upon his farm, here, engaged in the cultivation of his flower-garden, brave Collingwood was found when the necessities of his country demanded the aid of his lofty mind.

The short and feverish truce of 1802 was not likely to afford more than a limited respite to the brave fellows that combated against the strength of Napoleon ; the sore had been but hastily and superficially healed, so that it could not but soon break out again, and demand all the energies of our nation to meet the more virulent and dangerous appearance^d that it now assumed. A few months had just been completed, when the king's message to parliament (8th of March, 1803) announced the re-appearance of war, and almost at the same instant Admiral Collingwood was summoned by his country to resume the proud position he had held when the enemy threatened a descent upon our coasts. In his autobiography, from which several extracts have already been made, he remarks upon his separation from his home, "since 1793, I have been only one year at home : to my own children I am scarcely known ; but while I have health and strength to serve my country, I consider that health and strength to be its due ; and if I serve it successfully, as I have ever done faithfully, my children will not want for friends." In the month of May, 1803, Admiral Collingwood left that happy home, to which he was destined never to return, and, arriving at Plymouth, hoisted his flag on board the *Venerable*, 74 guns.* On the 17th of May, the *Venerable* sailed from Cawsand Bay in a fleet of ten sail of the line, under Admiral the Honourable William Cornwallis, in the *Dreadnought*, 98 guns, to cruise off Ushant, and watch the French fleet in Brest harbour. When Cornwallis saw the *Venerable* approaching to join him, and bearing our hero's flag, he turned to his officers and said, "Gentlemen, here comes Collingwood—the last to leave, and the first to rejoin me."

On this station the energy of our admiral was more remarkable than ever ; scarcely ever enjoying the comfort of a single night's uninterrupted rest, he lay sometimes on the quarter-

* This ship was wrecked on the sunken rocks in Torbay, on the 24th of November, 1804.

deck in his clothes, at others he sat upon a gun-carriage, and took mere snatches of sleep, starting up occasionally, and sweeping the horizon with his glass. In this laborious discharge of his duty, Lieutenant Clavell was his constant companion; and so sincerely did he admire the zeal and ability of his admiral, that he could not be persuaded to leave him, but watched with him day and night, even at the sacrifice of his own health.

Being at length relieved from this station, which he called "one of great anxiety, and requiring constant care and looking out," he proceeded off Ushant, and remained with the fleet until the month of December, when he returned to Cawsand Bay, by order of the admiral, to refresh his ship's company. This order most probably saved the valuable lives of our hero and his crew, for, upon examining the state of the ship, she was found to be totally unfit for sea, and it appeared that for the preceding six months there was but a sheet of copper between her brave crew and eternity itself. Lord St. Vincent being then at the Admiralty, (for he had resigned the command of the fleet in the Mediterranean to Lord Keith,) Collingwood asked him for a sounder ship, and in consequence his flag was removed to the Culloden at the commencement of the year 1804. Besides the unsound state of the Venerable, which alone perilled the lives of the crew, a violent gale from the s.w. blew for some weeks, and increased to such an alarming height about Christmas, 1803, that the blockading fleet were obliged to take shelter in Plymouth and other southern ports. Fortunately, the Venerable had been sent into harbour before this date, or in all probability she would have gone down at sea. In resuming his station off Ushant in the Culloden, Collingwood participated in the general promotion that took place, 23d of April, 1804, being then made vice-admiral of the blue.

The close blockade which Admiral Cornwallis observed, requiring a constant succession of ships, the vice-admiral shifted his flag from ship to ship as occasion demanded. On board the Dreadnought he cruised off Rochefort, where he experienced the most tempestuous weather, and was driven so



Painted by Sir W^m Beechey

Engraved by Pearson & Co

ADMIRAL, ALAN GARDNER, BARON GARDNER.

A. Gardner

far from the port that the French might easily have sailed, and were only prevented by the apprehension of running in amongst the British ships somewhere in the Channel. Sir Thomas Graves succeeded Collingwood in watching the port of Rochefort ; but the French soon evaded his diligence, and put to sea, making towards Brest harbour, which was also blockaded. The French calculated, and not incorrectly, upon the uncertainty, in some instances impossibility, of blockading a port in winter, and hoped to sail out of one into the other, although both were nominally watched by their enemy.

This dull war, as Nelson called it, still continued during the spring of 1805, but the vice-admiral's mind found constant and active operation. From Nelson he now began to receive daily declarations of the warmest attachment. Lord Gardner, whom he considered one of the most perfect masters of discipline, and therefore highly respected, had succeeded Cornwallis in the command of the fleet ; and a third source of happiness to his mind was the gratifying accounts from home of the rapid improvement of his daughters in every elegant accomplishment. In one of his admirable replies to Mr. Blackett, upon this interesting subject, he introduces the following wholesome advice to mothers engaged in superintending their daughters' studies : " Above all things, keep novels out of their reach. They are the corrupters of tender minds ; they exercise the imagination, instead of the judgment ; make them all desire to become the Julias or Cecilias of romance ; and turn their heads before they are enabled to distinguish truth from fiction—devised merely for entertainment. When they have passed their climacteric, it will be time enough to begin novels." With correspondence, and attention to strict discipline, the vice-admiral remained on this station, patiently enduring, with his brave commander-in-chief and his squadron, all the hardships of war without the honour, all the toils and dangers of a tempestuous and perilous service, and all the mortifications which bravery must endure when disappointed of its opportunity to add to its own and the honour of the British flag, the glory of annihili-

lating this, as it had done almost every other of the fleets of our enemy.

The period in the general history of Europe had now arrived, when Napoleon, bent on the subjugation of these insular possessions, had conceived the project of invading England, and perhaps Ireland at the same moment. Experience and the history of nations should have taught him, that although a country ripe for rebellion, as Ireland was in 1798, may exhibit a desperate courage in trying to disengage itself from an existing government, the object seldom is to introduce a foreign ruler: it is in domestic legislation that a people in insurrection consider true liberty to consist. Yet with the example of more than one failure before him, he meditated a descent upon those Isles again. As the most certain mode of securing victory, he designed to draw the different squadrons of our fleet from the Channel, and from those stations* that were nearest to the coast of both countries, and to effect this object, he made a feint of sending out expeditions against our possessions in the East and West Indies, their real destination being the British Channel, to which they were all to return, and there one grand concentrated naval force would be assembled, powerful enough to give safe-conduct to his flotillas and numerous transports, against the combined fleets of the universe. This gigantic conception for the annihilation of British naval supremacy, and extinction of British glory, was long suspected by both Nelson and Collingwood, the former of whom commenced the frustration of the emperor's vast plan, the latter carried out the views of his immortal friend to their splendid consummation.

It was in the month of May 1805, that the vice-admiral was released from this long and painful duty, to co-operate in more active and important services, by watching the port of

* Our blockading stations, and commanding officers, about this period, were Nelson in the Mediterranean; Sir Robert Calder, off Ferrol; Sir E. Pellew, off Corunna; Lord Gardner with the Channel fleet, off Ushant; Sir Sidney Smith, off Ostend; Lord Keith, in the Downs; Rear-Admiral Thornborough, off the Texel.

Cadiz, and observing the movements of the Spanish and French squadrons. He had at first been ordered to reinforce Sir Robert Calder, but on the 27th of May, cruising off Cape Finisterre, he there fell in with Sir Robert Bickerton, which determined him to proceed with his little squadron to a station off Cadiz, and obstruct and alarm the Spaniards. No sooner had he reached this new ground, than he despatched the *Ramillies* and *Illustrious*, the best and fastest sailing ships of his small fleet, to strengthen Nelson's squadron, totally regardless of the superior strength that was then prepared to oppose himself in the Spanish port. This station presented an opportunity to the vice-admiral for the exercise of much skill and ability, to effect his object with a force so inadequate to the service, and it seems almost incredible that he should have been able to succeed in blocking up the Spanish and French fleets, as he did at one time, off Cadiz, with only four sail under his command.

Perhaps it would be difficult to fix upon a period or a portion of the character of Lord Collingwood, which called for powers of a more peculiar kind, or displayed his talents to more advantage, than the period and the services in which he was now employed. Left with only four ships of the line, to keep in nearly four times the number—that he should have been able with these to block up the port of Cadiz, and confine their fleet in their own harbour, is an instance of courage and address that is scarcely to be paralleled in the pages of our naval history ! It appears almost impossible so to have divided his little force as to deceive the enemy, and effect the object of his service : with two of his ships close in as usual, to watch the motives of the enemy, and make signals to the other two, who were so disposed, and at a distance from one another, as to repeat those signals from one to the other, and again to other ships that were supposed to receive and answer them, he continued to delude the enemy, and led them to conclude that those were only part of a larger force that was not in sight ; and by this *ruse de guerre* he kept them in, and not only secured his own ships, but rendered an important

service to his country, by preventing the execution of any plan which the enemy might have had in contemplation, and keeping them together for the glory of a future day.

Occasional gleams of glory shot across the bewildered minds of his enemies, and sometimes feelings of shame arose; these sensations led to acts of vigour and enterprise, which, however, Collingwood rendered abortive by his tactical skill. Having frequently declared that the Spaniards should not drive him through the Straits unless they followed him, when they did venture to attack, he drew off in the heavy-sailing *Dreadnought*, beyond the limit of gun-shot; upon which the enemy tacked, but he also tacked, and followed them, so that they dared not attempt to chase him totally away, lest they should run in amongst the imaginary ships which he had been signaling.

In these circumstances, which the manœuvring of the vice-admiral had placed them, one alternative, and one only remained, that was, to return to their harbour, and endeavour to tire out the patience of the British officers. It will be remembered by the reader of history, that the result of Sir Robert Calder's action was the turning of the combined fleet southward, and their consequent entrance into the harbour of Cadiz. This being an event neither foreseen nor remediable, Napoleon had accumulated rich stores of every description at Ferrol, Rochefort, and Brest, but neglected totally the depôts to the southward; when the fleet, therefore, was driven down by Calder, and blocked up in Cadiz by Collingwood, it was necessarily much pressed for supplies. This pinching poverty was fostered by the vice-admiral, who excluded all neutral vessels from approaching Cadiz, or the harbours in that line of coast; and it is confidently believed, that it was this dilemma, either to starve or put to sea, in which the combined fleet was placed, that induced them to prefer the latter, unconscious that it would soon lead to their destruction.

When Nelson returned to Gibraltar from his extraordinary chase of the French fleet, he wrote to acquaint his friend of his movements, and added, that it was his anxious wish to consult with him upon the best means of serving their common

country. Collingwood had foreseen the views of the enemy, and always looked upon the wild race to the West Indies as a means of diverting so many of our ships as followed them: this opinion possibly Lord Nelson did not desire to hear. No matter whether that was the reason, or "the fresh levanter that bore Nelson on the bosom of old ocean, while his brave friend was wafted by a westerly wind," his lordship decided upon foregoing the interview, "and postponed taking Collingwood by the hand until October, when, if the Admiralty pleased, and his health permitted, he should resume the command."

Nelson passed away to Old England to refit his fleet, and be ready for any occasion that might arise, leaving Collingwood much disappointed at the manner of his leaving. Too sound a philosopher to feel more or longer than was wise, he again gave all the concentrated powers of his mind to the duty that he had undertaken; and at that precise hour it was that thirty-six men-of-war sailed majestically out of Cadiz harbour to frighten him away; although, as that vice-admiral himself described it, "we were only three poor things," he did not run, but dared them to follow him beyond the limit he had set to their excursions. It is certainly an extraordinary instance in the history of this naval war, that the Admiralty should have stationed an officer with only four ships to obstruct the movements of a fleet of thirty-six sail of the line; and it is not less singular that any man, with such means, should have been able to accomplish such an end, but this our Collingwood effectually did; and so audacious did he at length become, that he declared "if they came out, he would fight them merrily."

It has been written elsewhere as well as here, that Collingwood deeply felt the thoughtlessness of his friend in hastening to England without the interchange of a few words, without the gratification of taking each other by the hand; and sufficient proof of this uneasiness is given in a communication to his family, where he says, "Lord Nelson will be out next month. He told me he should; and then what will become

* Vide *Life of Nelson*.

of me, I do not know. *I should wish to go home* : but I must go or stay as the exigencies of the times require." The warm manner in which he was afterwards treated, upon their first interview, and from the moment that Nelson was appointed to the chief command, must have subdued, if not totally extinguished, every sentiment of sorrow or suspicion in his excellent and confiding heart. Nelson possessed too generous a nature to wound the feelings of the humblest person in his fleet ; and if his apparent indifference to Collingwood originated in any other source than that of the fever of his mind in pressing forward to get ready for sea, it might have been his jealousy in pursuit of glory. Little leisure, however, was left for reflecting upon this unpleasant incident, for, upon Nelson's return to England, he was appointed to the command of the Mediterranean fleet ; and by appointing Collingwood his second, all feelings of jealousy or rivalry were allayed for ever. On the 7th of September Nelson addressed the following note to the vice-admiral, which calmed his mind, and decided the question of " what was to become of him ?"—
" My dear Coll. : I shall be with you in a few days, and I hope you will remain *second* in command. You will change the Dreadnought for the Royal Sovereign, which I hope you will like." The Euryalus was now sent forward, 25th of September, 1805, to announce Nelson's approach, and desire that whenever the Victory should be discovered in sight, whether off Cadiz, or even out at sea, no salute should be fired, no flag hoisted, nor any species of rejoicing or recognition observed ; lest the enemy might learn the accession of reinforcements to the blockading fleet.

Arrived at the station which Collingwood had watched with the most persevering diligence, Nelson approved highly of every thing he had done, and expressed the warmest admiration of his policy in securing a force which his country would never have forgiven him had he permitted to escape. He now unbosomed himself unreservedly to his old friend, and established a correspondence of the most confidential nature with him. He handed him a key for his private letter-box, men-

tioned his wish that Collingwood should read his despatches, and send him his advice thereon in writing, and added "Telegraph on all occasions without ceremony. We are one, and I hope ever shall be." Acting upon this open, free, and affectionate invitation, Collingwood, who had well considered the probable movements of the enemy, assured Nelson that the enemy could not possibly remain much longer in port, as he had cut off their supplies for such a length of time, that absolute want of subsistence would bring them out, and that it was to be apprehended that they would then be joined by the Carthagenia squadron. This opinion was quickly followed by the remarkable and well-known pledge of unlimited confidence which the hero of the Nile addressed to Admiral Collingwood on the 9th of October in which he says, "We can have no little jealousies, we have only one great object in view, that of annihilating our enemies, and getting a glorious peace for our country. No man has more confidence in another than I have in you: and no man will render your services more justice than your very old friend—Nelson and Bronte.*

His plan of attack accompanied the preceding document, which every British sailor will allow to be the most valuable testimony that ever was, or ever shall be given, of another's professional worth, the approbation of Nelson—and Collingwood gave his unqualified assent to every part of it. He had always entertained an opinion, that acting in one line was attended with a loss in the application of power when the fleet was numerous; and this conclusion, which the result of the battle off Trafalgar verified at a subsequent period, when the enemy threatened him, or rather promised him a meeting, he proposed adopting on his own responsibility.

Collingwood, agreeably to Lord Nelson's desire, exchanged the Dreadnought, a sluggish sailer, for the Royal Sovereign, having obtained permission to bring Brice Gilliland his signal-lieutenant, and his first lieutenant, Clavell, along with him in the same rank. These favours were granted without hesitation or remark, and the arrangements of the vessels scarcely

* Vide Life of Nelson, vol. iii. p. 136-7.

completed, when intelligence from the commander-in-chief reached the Royal Sovereign, that "the enemy was all but out of the harbour." As this consummation, so devoutly to be wished for, was indisputably produced by Collingwood's plan of operations, and his obstinate blockade, Nelson could not refrain from complimenting the vice-admiral, even in the few lines of which his despatch consisted. "The Admiralty," said Nelson, "could not do less than call your conduct judicious. Every body in England admired your adroitness in not being forced unnecessarily into the Straits." The 19th of October arrived, and the enemy, although they had peeped out of port, drew in again, upon which Nelson sent an invitation to Collingwood to come on board the Victory, but before the signal of assent could be shown, the Victory telegraphed that the enemy were coming out. Nelson's invitation to his friend was the last letter he ever wrote.

The combined tactics of Nelson and Collingwood at length succeeded in decoying the enemy out of their safe asylum. The vice-admiral had long deceived them by pretending that his companions were within the influence of a signal, and in such strength that he felt no apprehension, with the four ships that were visible to the enemy, in blocking in upwards of thirty sail of the line. This scheme effectually answered, and the enemy were still in harbour, when Nelson arrived with a fleet, not imaginary, or as the grammarians call it, "understood," as the bloody day of Trafalgar soon after proved. Finding that his able predecessor had made the enemy so familiar with their retreat, that they appeared permanently fixed there, borrowing his ideas and mode of decoying, Nelson despatched Admiral Lewis with four sail of the line, to accompany a convoy to a limited distance up the Mediterranean, and the remainder of the fleet was disposed in such a manner as to conceal completely its real strength. The admiral of the combined fleet, from believing that there was a powerful armament at hand, when in reality not another ship was present, now fell into an error of a directly opposite nature, by conceiving the strength of the enemy to be only what it appeared. The former mistake

was safe and pardonable, the latter contrary to the suspicious character of the service to which he belonged, not justifiable where the trust reposed in him was so great, and proved fatal to France. Unequal in genius, though not deficient in courage, to the lofty minds then associated to compass his destruction, Villeneuve was seduced into the belief that he might oppose the fleet then floating in the Mediterranean, and with thirty-three sail of the line, (18 French, and 15 Spanish,) he ventured out to sea, with the hopes of effecting something that would retrieve the honour of their flag, and prop up his falling credit with his imperial master.

The details of the great battle that followed so soon after, form an important feature in the memoirs of Lord Nelson, wherein they have been fully given:* the prominent part which Vice-Admiral Collingwood performed on that memorable day, has, with the best intentions and equal taste, been passed over by the great man's biographer; but it is due to the memory of Collingwood to lay them before the reader, and, avoiding comparison, exhibit their absolute worth to his country.

On the morning of the 19th intelligence reached the commander-in-chief that the combined fleet had put to sea, and, sailing with a light westerly wind, their destination appeared to be the Mediterranean. Our fleet made all sail for the Straits of Gibraltar, where they were informed by Captain Blackwood that the enemy had not then passed the Straits. On the 21st, Nelson had the happiness of discovering the whole armament about seven miles to the eastward, upon which he made the signal for the fleet to bear up in two columns. At daylight on this great day in the history of Europe, Collingwood arose, and commenced making his toilet as if he had been about to join in some public festive scene. His servant, Smith, entered his cabin at the usual hour, and was surprised to find him already up. "Have you seen the French fleet this morning, Smith?" said the vice-admiral. "No, sir." "Then look out of that window, and you will

* Vide *Life and Services of Admiral Lord Nelson*, Vol. iii. p. 153, et seq.

see something of them ; but you will see a great deal more of them presently." Smith looked out, and saw a forest of masts to leeward ; but this did not astonish him so much as the composure with which the admiral proceeded with his shaving and other operations of the toilette. Having completed his arrangements with extraordinary attention, and left his cabin, he met Clavell, who happened to wear at that moment a pair of fierce-looking boots : " Clavell," said he, calmly, " I would advise you to exchange those boots for silk stockings ; they would be more manageable for the surgeon, if a man should happen to get a shot in the leg." Proceeding to visit every part of the ship, he addressed to each man a word of encouragement, and to the officers he said, " Gentlemen, let us do something to-day which the world may talk of hereafter."

It is possible that Collingwood would have committed still greater havoc amongst his foes on this dreadful occasion, had he remained in the Dreadnought, for, to such a degree of excellence had he disciplined the crew of that ship, that they were able to fire three broadsides in three and a half minutes ; the admiral assured them that five minutes would do, but they resolved on making sure of the mark. However, having shifted his flag to the Royal Sovereign, other advantages resulted, compensative, perhaps, for the loss sustained by parting with his well-practised crew. Collingwood commanded the lee line, and as the Royal Sovereign had just come from England, with her copper perfectly clean, she out-sailed the other vessels of that division. Nelson had signaled for the Royal Sovereign to pass through the enemy's line at the twelfth ship from the rear ; but Collingwood perceiving that she was only a two-decker, while the second ship astern, carrying Admiral Alava's flag, was a first-rate, preferred the latter antagonist, even at the risk of disobeying orders, and crowded sail to run down. At this moment another signal was made by the commander-in-chief, upon which Collingwood observed, " I wish Nelson would make no more signals ; we all know what we are to do ;" but as soon as he had learned its purport—" England expects every man will do his

duty," he manifested the utmost satisfaction, and communicated the inspiring sentence to his officers and men.

It will be remembered that Nelson at first yielded to the solicitations of Blackwood, of the *Euryalus*, and consented to allow the *Temeraire* to go ahead of him, and lead the weather-line; but he soon repented of the order, and, setting every sail in the *Victory*, recovered his place again. Clavell observed the *Victory's* men setting their studding-sails, and with that feeling of noble rivalry that animates the service, increased by his affectionate regard for his admiral, and jealous watchfulness of his fame, he immediately communicated the fact, and asked permission to do likewise, although the *Royal Sovereign* was then far in advance of the other ships in the division. The admiral fully comprehended the object of his brave lieutenant, and told him, "he might be getting ready, but that at that moment their other ships were too far behind." Clavell proceeded to the utmost limits of his orders, then fixing his anxious eye upon his admiral, waited with impatience for a further extension: such conduct received the notice it was entitled to, and a nod from Collingwood sent the *Royal Sovereign* rapidly forward, ahead of all the fleet. The men were now ordered to lie down on the decks, and the strictest silence was enjoined. As Collingwood approached the enemy's line, the *Fougueux*, which was astern of the *Santa Anna*, closed up, with a view of interrupting Collingwood in his attempt to break the line; upon which the admiral directed Captain Rotherham "to steer directly for the Frenchman, and carry away his bowsprit. The Frenchman avoided this design by backing his main topsail, permitting Collingwood to pass, and at the same time opening his fire: this manœuvre did not provoke the admiral to deviate from his plan, and he only replied by a few shots, the object of which was to envelope his ship in smoke. The *Royal Sovereign* was now one mile ahead of the nearest ship in the English fleet, and Lord Nelson, who was observed to have his eye frequently turned towards the *Royal Sovereign*, was now heard to exclaim, almost involuntarily, "See! how that noble fellow, Colling-

wood, takes his ship into action.”* At the same instant it was that his brave companion, with equal generosity, turning to his officers, observed, “Gentlemen, what would Nelson give to be here?”

The editor of Lord Collingwood’s letters has given a succinct account of his noble relative’s conduct in the battle of Trafalgar, minute and veracious; but impartial history calls for that statement of the actions of public men which has emanated from sources wholly above suspicion of bias, and sustained by such documents as posterity will receive without hesitation. The following extract, therefore, is taken from the naval history of Great Britain, and from pages that were compiled when the personal interests of Collingwood had ceased to agitate him, or cause inconvenience to ministers;—when the fame of Nelson and Collingwood were appreciated, but not rewarded,—and when the refusal to entail the lordly title upon the descendants of this most meritorious officer, was almost forgotten. No motives, therefore, could have influenced the author, but the love of truth.

It was noon† “when the Fougueux opened her fire upon the Royal Sovereign, then bearing on her larboard bow, and considerably within gun-shot: soon after this the ships next ahead and astern of her also fired, upon which the admiral’s ship replied, but the signal to engage closely being thrown out by the commander-in-chief, she desisted. At ten minutes past noon, the Royal Sovereign having reached a position close astern of the Santa Anna, fired into her with guns double-shotted, and with such precision as to kill or wound 400 of her crew. With her starboard broadside similarly charged, she raked the Fougueux, but, owing to the distance and the smoke, with less effect. The Royal Sovereign now put her helm a-starboard, and, without any difficulty, ranged alongside the Santa Anna, so close that the guns were nearly muzzle to muzzle. Between the two three-deckers a tremen-

* In the Collingwood Correspondence, the words, “*How I envy him,*” are added; no other authority gives them, and they do not sound *Nelsonian*.

† Vide James’s Naval History, Battle of Trafalgar 1805.

dous cannonade ensued ; but Collingwood soon found that he had more than one opponent to contend with. The *Fougueux*, having bore up, raked her astern ; and ahead of the *Royal Sovereign*, at about two cables' length, lay the *San Leandro*, who, wearing, raked her in that direction : upon Collingwood's starboard bow and quarter, within a cable and a half's distance, were the *San Justo* and *Indomitable*. So incessant was the fire kept up by all these ships, that the people of the *Royal Sovereign* frequently saw the shots coming in contact with each other. Aware, at length, of the injury which they were thus sustaining by their own cross fire, and observing that three or four British ships were fast approaching to Collingwood's support, the four two-deckers drew off, one by one, and left him to combat solely with the *Santa Anna* ; who, although in point of force more than a match for her antagonist, began to exhibit proofs that in practical gunnery she was decidedly her inferior.

“ For upwards of fifteen minutes the *Royal Sovereign* was the only British ship in close action. At the end of that time, when the former had taken a position upon her opponent's lee-bow, and was making the best possible use of it, the *Belleisle*, Captain W. Hargood, hauling up, fired a few distant shots into the lee-quarter of the *Santa Anna*, and then ran past both her and the *Royal Sovereign*. Soon after the *Santa Anna* lost her mizen-topmast ; and at the end of about an hour and a quarter, from the commencement of the combat, her three masts fell over her side. At a quarter past two, after a hot and an uninterrupted engagement from ten minutes past noon, the *Santa Anna* struck to the *Royal Sovereign*.

“ This event took place just as the latter's mizen-mast came down, and when her fore and main-masts, from their shattered condition, were ready to follow it. No sooner, indeed, had the *Royal Sovereign*, in order to put herself a little to rights, moved a short distance ahead of her prize, than her mainmast fell over on the starboard side, tearing off two of the lower-deck ports. The foremast having been shot

through in several places, and stripped of nearly the whole of its rigging, was in a tottering state ; hence the English three-decker had become almost, if not quite, as unmanageable a wreck as the Spaniard which she had so gallantly fought and captured.—The loss sustained by the Royal Sovereign was severe : she had 1 lieutenant, her master, 1 lieutenant of marines, 2 midshipmen, and 42 seamen and marines, killed ; 2 lieutenants, 1 lieutenant of marines, 1 master's mate, 4 midshipmen, her boatswain, 85 seamen and marines, wounded."

The loss of the Santa Anna must have been very great, and when she struck Admiral Alava lay wounded, and unconscious of what passed, being supposed to be in a dying state. 'The officer who took possession of the prize brought the sword of Riguelme, the first captain, and of the second in command, to Vice-Admiral Collingwood. One of these, by some mistake, was supposed to have belonged to Alava, who remained on board the Santa Anna when she was re-captured, and was carried safe into Cadiz. When this trick came to Collingwood's knowledge, rightly judging it to have been an intentional evasion, unbecoming an officer, he claimed Alava as his prisoner, and ever after preserved the impression that his conduct had been artful and dishonourable.

At the commencement of the action, just after the Royal Sovereign had heeled out of the water by a broadside from the Santa Anna, for the latter was superior in weight of metal, a top-gallant sail was observed by the vice-admiral hanging over the gangway hammocks, upon which he called Clavell to him, and requested his aid in taking it in, observing, "they should want it again some other day." At this time the fire of the Spaniard appeared to slacken considerably, before she was joined by her comrades, by which Captain Rotherham was so deceived that he actually took the vice-admiral by the hand, and congratulated him upon the certainty of victory ; but the contest was renewed with still more terrible effect in a few minutes after. 'The fleet of foes that surrounded the Royal Sovereign at one period, rendered all attempt to maintain the poop almost instantly fatal, which

Collingwood perceiving, ordered Captain Vallack to take away his marines, for a little, from that post, while himself continued there, as the spot where his duty required him. In this situation Admiral Collingwood received a slight wound in the leg, and several severe bruises; accidents which were never noticed by him in his despatches, nor even communicated to his family for half a year after the day of battle.

The Royal Sovereign was so completely disabled, that Collingwood shifted his flag in consequence, on board the *Euryalus*, which also took the other in tow. Here the news was brought that Nelson had been wounded, and here the Spanish captain of the *Santa Anna* surrendered himself, stating at the same time, that his admiral was mortally wounded, and then at the point of death. The Spaniard had now leisure to look about him, and, turning to one of the British sailors, asked what was the name of Collingwood's ship? When he was told, "the Royal Sovereign," he observed, she should rather be called "the Royal Devil." The action still continued general; and Blackwood, in fulfilment of a promise, now proceeded to the *Victory*, to see his brave commander once more before his death. Reaching the ship's side, he was informed that Nelson was still living; but, on going below, he beheld the lifeless, shadowy form of the hero. The future conduct of the day devolved on Vice-Admiral Collingwood, whose ship, as has been stated, was dismasted, forty-seven of his crew killed, and ninety-four wounded.

When Collingwood shifted his flag on board the *Euryalus*, which he did about six in the afternoon, most of his ships were unable to carry sail, and some totally dismasted; and fourteen, out of the twenty-seven that entered the contest, were damaged in the hull. In such a condition they were necessarily unable to tow or take charge of the seventeen prizes, eight of them being wholly dismasted, the others partially so, some being in a sinking state, and all with shattered hulls. The wind was now dead on shore, but as it blew moderately, the danger of being driven on the shoals of Trafalgar, a few miles to leeward, was avoided. The vice-admiral made a

signal for the fleet to anchor at nine o'clock, but it was impossible to obey his orders, few ships having an anchor to let go. As night advanced, however, the wind veered to s. s. w. upon which the ships all wore with their heads to the west, and drifted seaward.

On the twenty-second, the *Euryalus* cast off the Royal Sovereign, and the latter was then taken in tow by the *Nep-tune*. The fleet was now proceeding quietly on its way, when a public order was issued that thanks should be offered to * Almighty God, by every ship's crew, for the wonders that had been worked by the British fleet in conquering the enemies of peace in Europe; and the beautiful form of prayer, used on this occasion, was composed by the vice-admiral.* This prayer was followed soon after by letters of thanks from the commander-in-chief, first to the officers and seamen of the fleet, and secondly to the officers and men of the royal marines.

In addition to a minute detail of the action off *Trafalgar*,* which Admiral Collingwood addressed to the Duke of Clarence, the firm friend of the late admiral, he forwarded, on the 22nd of October, the following despatch to the Admiralty.

"The ever-to-be-lamented death of Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson, who in the late conflict with the enemy fell in the hour of victory, leaves me the duty of informing my lords commissioners of the Admiralty, that on the nineteenth instant it was communicated to the commander-in-chief, from the ships watching the motions of the enemy in Cadiz, that the combined fleet had put to sea. As they sailed with light winds westerly, his lordship concluded their destination was the Mediterranean, and immediately made all sail for the Straits' entrance, with the British squadron, consisting of twenty-seven ships, three of them sixty-fours, where his lordship was informed by Captain Blackwood, (whose vigilance in watching and giving notice of the enemy's movements has been highly meritorious), that they had not yet passed the Straits. On Monday the twenty-first instant, at daylight, when Cape *Trafalgar* bore e. by s. about seven leagues, the

* Vide *Life of Nelson*, vol. iii. p. 166.

enemy was discovered about six or seven miles to the eastward, the wind about west, and very light. The commander-in-chief immediately made the signal for the fleet to bear up in two columns, as they are formed in order of sailing; a mode of attack, his lordship had previously directed, to avoid the inconvenience and delay in forming a line of battle in the usual manner. The enemy's line consisted of thirty-three ships, (of which eighteen were French, and fifteen Spanish, commanded in chief by Admiral Villeneuve, the Spaniards under the direction of Gravina,) wore with their heads to the northward, and formed their line of battle with great closeness and correctness. But as the mode of attack was unusual, so the structure of their line was new; it formed a crescent convexing to leeward; so that in leading down to their centre, I had both their van and rear abaft the beam before the fire opened. Every alternate ship was about a cable's length to windward of her second ahead and astern, forming a kind of double line, and appeared, when on their beam, to leave a very little interval between them, and this without crowding their ships. Admiral Villeneuve was in the *Bucentaure* in the centre, and the *Prince of Asturias* bore Gravina's flag in the rear; but the French and Spanish ships were mixed, without any apparent regard to order of national squadron. As the mode of our attack had been previously determined on, and communicated to the flag-officers and captains, few signals were necessary, and none were made, except to direct close order as the lines bore down. The commander-in-chief, in the *Victory*, led the weather column; and the *Royal Sovereign*, which bore my flag, the lee.

"The action began at twelve o'clock, by the leading ships of the columns breaking through the enemy's line; the commander-in-chief about the tenth ship from the van; the second in command about the twelfth from the rear, leaving the van of the enemy unoccupied; the succeeding ships, breaking through in all parts, astern of their leaders, and engaging the enemy at the muzzles of their guns. The conflict was severe; the enemy's ships were fought with a gallantry highly honourable to their officers; but the attack on them was irre-

sistible, and it pleased the Almighty disposer of all events to grant his majesty's arms a complete and glorious victory. About three P. M. many of the enemy's ships having struck their colours, their line gave way; Admiral Gravina with ten ships joining their frigates to leeward, stood towards Cadiz. The five headmost ships in their van tacked, and standing to the southward, to windward of the British line, was engaged, and the sternmost of them taken; the others went off, leaving to his majesty's squadron nineteen ships of the line, (of which two are first-rates, the *Santissima Trinitada*, and the *Santa Anna*) with three flag-officers, viz. Admiral Villeneuve, the commander-in-chief: Don Ignacio Maria Alava, vice-admiral; and Rear-Admiral Don Baltazar Hidalgo Cisneros.

"After such a victory it may seem unnecessary to enter into encomiums on the particular parts taken by the several commanders; the conclusion says more on the subject than I have language to express. The spirit which animated all was the same; when all exert themselves zealously in their country's service, all deserve that their high merits should stand recorded; and never was high merit more conspicuous than in the battle I have described.

"The *Achille*, a French seventy-four, after having surrendered, by some mismanagement of the Frenchmen, took fire, and blew up; two hundred of her men were saved by the tenders. A circumstance occurred during the action, which so strongly marks the invincible spirit of British seamen, when engaging the enemies of their country, that I cannot resist the pleasure I have in making it known to their lordships. The *Temeraire*, (Captain E. Harvey) was boarded, by accident or design, by a French ship on one side, and a Spaniard on the other; the contest was vigorous: but in the end, the combined ensigns were torn from the poops, and the British hoisted in their places.*

"Such a battle could not be fought without our sustaining a great loss of men. I have not only to lament, in common

* This fact was not subsequently confirmed.

with the British navy, and British nation, in the fall of the commander-in-chief, the loss of a hero, whose name will be immortal, and his memory ever dear to his country; but my heart is rent with the most poignant grief for the death of a friend, to whom, by many years of intimacy, and a perfect knowledge of the virtues of his mind, which inspired ideas superior to the common race of men, I was bound by the strongest ties of affection—a grief, to which even the glorious occasion in which he fell does not bring the consolation which perhaps it ought. His lordship received a musket-ball in his left breast, about the middle of the action, and sent an officer to me immediately with his last farewell, and soon after expired. I have also to lament the loss of those excellent officers, Captain Duff, of the Mars, and Cooke of the Bellerophon I have yet heard of none others.

“I fear that the numbers that have fallen will be found very great, when the returns come to me; but it has blown a gale of wind ever since the action, and I have not yet had it in my power to collect any reports from the ships. The Royal Sovereign having lost her masts, except the tottering foremast, I called the Euryalus to me while the action continued, which ship, lying within hail, made my signals—a service Captain Blackwood performed with very great attention. After the action I shifted my flag to her, that I might the more easily communicate my orders to, and collect the ships, and towed the Royal Sovereign out to seaward. The whole fleet were now in a very perilous situation; many dismasted, all shattered, in thirteen fathom water, off the shoals of Trafalgar, and when I made the signal to prepare to anchor, few of the ships had an anchor to let go, their cables being shot.

“But the same good providence which aided us through such a day, preserved us in the night, by the wind shifting a few points, and drifting the ships off the land, except four of the captured dismasted ships, which are now at anchor off Trafalgar, and I hope will ride safe until the gales are over.

“Having thus detailed the proceedings of the fleet on this occasion, I beg to congratulate their lordships, on a victory,

which I hope will add a ray to the glory of his majesty's crown, and be attended with public benefit to our country.—Cuthbert Collingwood.”

The preceding despatch must, of necessity, have been incomplete, but the vice-admiral continued to forward intelligence to Mr. Marsden, with as much celerity as circumstances permitted. His first communication narrated the death of Nelson, and defeat of the combined fleets; in his second, dated the 24th of October, he continued the details of the action, and described the condition of the fleet during the severe weather that succeeded that memorable event.

“To W. Marsden, Esq.—Euryalus, off Cadiz, 24th of October 1805.

“In my letter of the 22d, I detailed to you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the Admiralty, the proceedings of his majesty's squadron on the day of the action, and that preceding it : since which I have had a continued series of misfortunes : but they are of a kind that human prudence could not possibly provide against, or any skill prevent.

“On the 22d in the morning, a strong southerly wind blew, with squally weather, which, however, did not prevent the activity of the officers and seamen of such ships as were manageable, from getting hold of many of the prizes, (thirteen or fourteen), and towing them off to the westward, when I ordered them to rendezvous round the Royal Sovereign, then in tow by the Neptune. But on the 23d the gale increased, and the sea ran so high, that many of them broke the tow-rope, and drifted far to leeward before they were got hold of again : and some of them taking advantage of the dark and boisterous night, got before the wind, and have, perhaps, drifted on the shore and sunk. On the afternoon of that day, the remnant of the combined fleet, ten sail of ships, which had not been much engaged, stood up to leeward of my scattered and straggling charge, as if meaning to attack them, which obliged me to collect a force out of the least injured ships, and form to leeward for their defence. All this retarded the progress of the hulks, and the bad weather continuing, determined me to

destroy all the leewardmost that could be cleared of the men, considering that keeping possession of the ships was a matter of little consequence, compared with the chance of their falling again into the hands of the enemy: but even this was an arduous task in the high sea which was running. I hope, however, it has been accomplished to a considerable extent. I entrusted it to skilful officers, who would spare no pains to execute what was possible. The captains of the *Prince* and *Neptune* cleared the *Trinidad*, and sunk her. Captains Hope, Bayntun, and Malcolm, who joined the fleet this morning from Gibraltar, had the charge of destroying four others. The *Redoubtable* sunk astern of the *Swiftsure*, while in tow. The *Santa Anna* I have no doubt is sunk, as her side is almost entirely beat in: and such is the shattered condition of the whole of them, that, unless the weather moderates, I doubt whether I shall be able to carry a ship of them into port. I hope their lordships will approve of what I—having only in consideration the destruction of the enemy's fleet—have thought a measure of absolute necessity.

“I have taken Admiral Villeneuve into this ship. Whenever the temper of the weather will permit, and I can spare a frigate (for there were only four in the action with the fleet, *Euryalus*, *Sirius*, *Phœbe*, and *Naiad*, the *Melpomene* joined the twenty-second, and the *Eurydice* and *Scout* the 23d,) I shall collect the other flag-officers, and send them to England with their flags, (if they do not go to the bottom) to be laid at his majesty's feet.

“There were 4000 troops embarked under the command of General Contamin, who was taken with Admiral Villeneuve in the *Bucentaur*.”—Cuthbert Collingwood.

Amongst many remarkable circumstances, and such as are not very explicable, may be noticed the indecision of Napoleon as to the command of his fleet in the Mediterranean. On the very day of Nelson's arrival Villeneuve received orders to put to sea, and sweep the Mediterranean of the British trade, land, at Naples, the four thousand men under General Contamin embarked on board the ships, and then proceed to Toulon; but

very soon after he sent Admiral Francois-Etienne Rosilly to supersede Villeneuve in the command. Rosilly reached Cadiz four days after the defeat of the combined fleet, and, instead of eighteen fine well-manned ships, he found only four disabled vessels, and one, the *Heros*, in a state efficient enough to hoist his flag, and put to sea if requisite. Villeneuve was treated with the utmost severity by his imperial master, although he is acknowledged to have been an able officer, and to have fought the battle with the greatest gallantry. In some accounts of this memorable day it is stated, that disunion existed between the principal officers of the French and Spanish fleets, but the assertion is totally unsupported by proof, and more competent authorities state that the ships of the combined fleet were intermingled in the line of battle, and exhibited the utmost harmony of mutual support.

When the *Bucentaur*, bearing the French admiral's flag, oppressed with numbers, finally struck to the *Conqueror* of 74 guns; Lieutenant Atherly, of the marines, with only five men, boarded, and took possession of her: Villeneuve and General Contamin immediately presented their swords, which the brave young officer, with admirable delicacy, declined to accept, intimating that his Captain (Pellew) was the proper officer to receive them: so, taking his prisoners into his little boat, he put off to go on board his ship, which meanwhile having passed on ahead, he finally deposited them on board the *Mars*. When Napoleon, amidst his triumphs in Austria, learned the fate of the combined fleet, his unjust wrath against Villeneuve was boundless, "*Je saurois bien apprendre mes amiraux français a vaincre !*" said he, alluding to the fate of our Byng; from this speech the unfortunate Villeneuve foreboded his end; and, while awaiting the emperor's orders for his future destination, he sailed from Plymouth in a cartel, having landed on his parole at Morlaix, he proceeded to Rennes, where he was found dead in his bed at the *Hotel de la Patrie*, (on the twenty-second of April, 1806,) stabbed in many places—some imagined by his own hand, but others have attributed his death to the agency of the emperor.

With respect to the four ships that had escaped the thunder of British artillery in the battle of Trafalgar, under the command of Admiral Dumanoir, falling in with Sir Richard Strachan's squadron, they were all captured, brought safely into Plymouth harbour, and added to the British navy. Dumanoir was subsequently brought before a court-martial, for his conduct in both actions, and after a rigid investigation he was honourably acquitted.

Upon the destruction of the prizes, on the 30th of October, a British squadron of four sail of the line, the *Queen*, *Spenser*, *Tigre*, and *Canopus*, in which Admiral Louis the commander hoisted his flag, joined the vice-admiral, who shifted his flag from the *Euryalus* to the *Queen*, Captain Pender, on the morning of the thirty-first.

The subsequent conduct of Vice-Admiral Collingwood in the preservation of those ships that could be saved, his spirited abandonment and destruction of those that were worthless, his humanity and consideration for the wounded, not only in his own but the enemy's fleet, and his officer-like views upon several points of difficult solution in the laws of war, will be better understood and more fairly appreciated from his letters and despatches on the occasion, than from any abridgment or description, however close the copy might approach to the original. On the second of November Admiral Collingwood wrote the following letter, a beautiful supplement to his able despatch upon the battle of Trafalgar, addressed to his father-in-law, Mr. Blackett.

"I wrote to my dear Sarah a few lines, when I sent my first despatches to the Admiralty, which account I hope will satisfy the good people of England, for there never was such a combat since England had a fleet. In three hours the combined forces were annihilated upon their own shores, at the entrance of their port, amongst their own rocks. It has been a very difficult thing to collect an account of our success, but, by the best I have, twenty sail of the line have surrendered to us; out of which, three, in the furious gale we had afterwards, being driven to the entrance of the harbour of Cadiz, received assistance, and got in.

These were, the *Santa Anna*, *Algeziras*, and *Neptune* (the last sunk and lost:) the *Santa Anna*'s side was battered in. The three we have sent to Gibraltar are, the *San Ildefonso*, *San Juan Nepomusceno*, and *Swiftsure*: fourteen others we have burnt, sunk, and run on shore, but the *Bahama* I have yet hope of saving; she is gone to Gibraltar. Those ships which effected their escape into Cadiz are quite wrecks; some have lost their masts since they got in, and they have not a spar or a store to refit them. We took four admirals; Villeneuve, the commander-in-chief, Vice-Admiral D'Alava, Rear-Admiral Cisneros, Spanish, and the French admiral, Magon, who was killed; besides a great number of brigadiers (commanders). D'Alava, wounded, was driven into Cadiz, in the *Santa Anna*; Gravina, who was not taken, has lost his arm (amputated, I have heard, but not from him). Of men their loss is many thousands, for I reckon, in the captured ships, we took twenty thousand prisoners, including the troops. This was a victory to be proud of; but in the loss of my excellent friend, Lord Nelson, and a number of brave men, we paid dear for it. When my dear friend received his wound, he immediately sent an officer to tell me of it, and give his love to me. Though the officer was directed to say the wound was not dangerous, I read in his countenance what I had to fear; and *before the action was over* Captain Hardy came to inform me of his death. I cannot tell how deeply I was affected; my friendship for him was unlike anything that I have left in the navy—a brotherhood of more than thirty years. In this affair he did nothing without my counsel; we made our line-of-battle together, and concerted the mode of attack, which was put in execution in the most admirable style. I shall grow tired of the sea soon; my health has suffered so much from the anxious state I have been in, and the fatigue I have undergone, that I shall be unfit for service. The severe gales which immediately followed the day of victory ruined our prospect of prizes. Our own infirm ships could scarce keep off the shore; the prizes were left to their fate; and as they were driven very near the port, I ordered them to be destroyed,

by burning and sinking, that there might be no risk of their falling again into the hands of the enemy. There has been a great destruction of them; indeed, I hardly know what, but not less than fifteen or sixteen, the total ruin of the combined fleet.

To alleviate the miseries of the wounded as much as in my power, I sent a flag to the Marquis Solana, to offer him his wounded. Nothing can exceed the gratitude expressed by him for this act of humanity: all this part of Spain is in an uproar of praise and thankfulness to the English. Solana sent me a present of a cask of wine, and we have a free intercourse with the shore. Judge of the footing we are on, when I tell you he offered me his hospitals, and pledged the Spanish honour for the care and cure of our wounded men. Our officers and men who were wrecked in some of the prize-ships were most kindly treated: all the country was on the beach, to receive them; the priests and women distributing wine and bread and fruit amongst them. The soldiers turned out of their barracks, to make lodging for them; whilst their allies, the French, were left to shift for themselves, with a guard over them to prevent their doing mischief. After the battle I shifted my flag to the *Euryalus* frigate, that I might the better distribute my orders: and when the ships were destroyed, and the squadron in safety, I came here, my own ship being totally disabled; she lost her last mast in the gale. All the northern boys, and Graydon, are alive; Kennicott has a dangerous wound in his shoulder; Thompson wounded in the arm, and just at the conclusion of the action his leg was broke by a splinter; little Charles is unhurt, but we have lost a good many youngsters. For myself, I am in a forlorn state: my servants are killed; my luggage, what is left, is on board the *Royal Sovereign*, and Clavell is wounded. I have appointed Sir Peter Parker's grandson, and Captain Thomas, my old lieutenant, post-captains; Clavell and the first lieutenant of the *Victory*, are made commanders; but I hope the Admiralty will do more for them, for, in the history of our navy, there is no instance of a victory so complete and so

great. The ships that escaped into Cadiz are wrecks, and they have neither stores, nor inclination to refit them. I shall now go, as soon as I get a sufficient squadron equipped, and see what I can do with the Carthagenians: if I can get at them, the naval war will be finished in this country. Prize-money I shall get little or none for this business, for though the loss of the enemy may be estimated at nearly four millions, it is most of it gone to the bottom. Don Argemoso, who was formerly captain of the *Isidro*, commanded the *Monarca*, one of our captures; he sent to inform me he was in the *Leviathan*, and I immediately ordered, for our old acquaintance sake, his liberty on parole. All the Spaniards speak of us in terms of admiration; and Villeneuve, whom I had in the frigate with me, acknowledges that they cannot contend with us at sea. I do not know what will be thought of it in England, but the effect here is highly advantageous to the British name. Kind remembrances to all my friends. I dare say, your neighbour Mr. — will be delighted with the history of the battle. If he had been in it, it would have animated him more than all his daughter's chemistry; it would have new-strung his nerves, and made him young again. God bless you, my dear sir: may you ever be happy! It is very long since I heard from home. I am ever, your most truly affectionate, Cuthbert Collingwood.—P.S. I have ordered all the boys to be discharged into this ship; another such fight will season them pretty well. We had forty-seven killed, ninety-four wounded."

Here perhaps we might close the narrative of the circumstances connected with the battle of Trafalgar; but the memory of Collingwood demands impartial justice, and history, in pleading his cause, only requires the reproduction of those public documents, the veracity of which is unimpeachable, and which are still carefully preserved amongst the records of our Admiralty. From these it will appear, that a feeling on the part of interested, unfair, or ignorant men, to raise the reputation of Nelson yet higher, at the expense of the fair fame of Collingwood, is the only foundation on which the charge of bad management, in not preserving the prizes, can be imagined to rest.

On the 4th of November, when he had acquired such additional information as seemed to demand another communication with the Admiralty, the vice-admiral addressed the following to Mr. Marsden :—"Queen, off Trafalgar. On the 28th ultimo, I informed you of the proceedings of the squadron to that time. The weather continuing very bad, the wind blowing from the south-west, the squadron not in a situation of safety, and seeing little prospect of getting the captured ships off the land, and great risk of some of them getting into port, I determined no longer to delay the destroying of them, and to get the squadron out of the deep bay. The extraordinary exertion of Captain Capel, however, saved the French *Swiftsure* ; and his ship, the *Phœbe*, together with the *Donegal*, Captain Malcolm, afterwards brought out the *Bahama*. Indeed, nothing can exceed the perseverance of all the officers employed in this service : Captain Hope rigged, and succeeded in bringing out the *Ildefonso*. All of which will, I hope, have arrived safe at Gibraltar. For the rest, sir, I enclose you a list of all the enemy's fleet which were in the action, and how they are disposed of ; which, I believe, is perfectly correct.

"I informed you, in my letter of the 28th, that the remnant of the enemy's fleet came out a second time, to endeavour, in the bad weather, to cut off some of the hulks, when the *Rayo* was dismasted, and fell into our hands ; she afterwards parted her cable, went on shore, and was wrecked. The *Indomptable*, one of the same squadron, was also driven on shore, wrecked, and her crew perished. The *Santa Anna* and *Algeziras*, being driven near the shore of Cadiz, got such assistance as has enabled them to get in ; but the ruin of their fleet is as complete as could be expected, under the circumstances of fighting them close to their own shore : had the battle been in the ocean, still fewer would have escaped. Twenty sail of the line are taken or destroyed ; and of those which got in, not more than three are in a repairable state for a length of time. Rear-Admiral Louis, in the *Canopus*, who had been detached with the *Queen*, *Spencer*, and *Tigre*, to complete the water, &c., of these ships, and to see the convoy

in safety a certain distance up the Mediterranean, joined me on the 30th. In clearing the captured ships of prisoners, I found so many wounded men, that, to alleviate human misery as much as was in my power, I sent to the Marquis de Solana, governor-general of Andalusia, to offer him the wounded to the care of their country, on receipts being given: a proposal which was received with the greatest thankfulness, not only by the governor, but the whole country resounds with expressions of gratitude. Two French frigates were sent out to receive them, with a proper officer to give receipts, bringing with them all the English who had been wrecked in several of the ships, and an offer from the Marquis de Solana of the use of their hospitals for our wounded, pledging the honour of Spain for their being carefully attended.

“ I have ordered most of the Spanish prisoners to be released; the officers on parole, the men for receipts given, and a condition that they do not serve in war by sea or land until exchanged. By my correspondence with the Marquis, I found that Vice-Admiral D’Alava was not dead, but dangerously wounded; and I wrote to him a letter, claiming him as a prisoner of war, a copy of which I enclose, together with a statement of the flag-officers of the combined fleet.”*

* *A List of the Combined Fleets of France and Spain, in the Action of the 21st of October, 1805, off Cape Trafalgar, showing how they are disposed of.*

1. San Ildefonso, 74 (Spanish), Brigadier Don Joseph de Vargas: sent to Gibraltar.—2. San Juan Nepomuceno, 74 (Spanish), Brigadier Don Cosme Churrueta: sent to Gibraltar.—3. Bahama, 74 (Spanish), Brigadier Don A. D. Galiano: sent to Gibraltar.—4. Swiftsure, 74 (French), Monsieur Villemærin: sent to Gibraltar.—5. Monarca, 74 (Spanish), Don leodoro Argumosa: wrecked off St. Lucar.—6. Fougex, 74 (French), Monsieur Boaudouin: wrecked off Trafalgar; all perished, and thirty of the Temeraire’s men.—7. Indomptable, 84 (French), Monsieur Hubert: wrecked off Rota; all perished.—8. Bucentaur, 80 (French), Admiral Villeneuve, Commander-in-Chief; Captains Prigny and Majendie: wrecked on the Porques; some of the crew saved.—9. San Francisco de Assis, 74 (Spanish), Don Louis de Flores: wrecked near Rota.—10. El Rayo, 100 (Spanish), Brigadier Don Henrique Macdonel: wrecked near San Lucar.—11. Neptuno, 84 (Spanish) Brigadier Don Cayetano Valdes: wrecked between Rota and Catolina.—12. Argonaute, 74 (French), Monsieur Epron: on shore in the port of Cadiz.—13. Berwick, 74, (French), Monsieur Camas: wrecked to the northward of St. Lucar.—

Collingwood's fame here demands a few remarks calculated to refute the unfair impression, which the narration of the battle of Trafalgar in James's *Naval History*, must necessarily produce upon the minds of its readers. That indefatigable historian has asserted, much too hastily, that a larger number of the prizes would have been saved, if Nelson's last order, that for anchoring the fleet, had been complied with. As far as the *Victory* was concerned, the order could not be obeyed, for "the starboard cat-head was shot away, the starboard bower and spare anchors broke, and the stock of the sheet anchor damaged by shot." Other ships must necessarily have sustained similar losses, and of the *Algeziras* it was reported "that the two anchors at her bow were all that remained: of these

14. *Aigle*, 74 (French), Monsieur Courge: wrecked near Rota.—15. *Achille*, 74 (French), Monsieur de Nieuport: burnt during the action.—16. *Intrepide*, 74, (French), Monsieur Infortet: burnt by the *Britannia*.—17. *San Augustin*, 74, (Spanish), Brigadier Don Felipe X Cagigal: burnt by the *Leviathan*.—18. *Santissima Trinidad*, 140 (Spanish), Rear-Admiral Don Baltazar H. Cisneros; Brigadier Don F. Uriarte: sunk by the *Prince*, *Neptune*, &c.—19. *Redoubtable*, 74 (French), Monsieur Lucas: sunk astern of the *Swiftsure*; *Temeraire* lost thirteen, and *Swiftsure* five men.—20. *Argonauta*, 80 (Spanish), Don Antonio Pareja: sunk by the *Ajax*.—21. *Santa Anna*, 112 (Spanish), Vice-Admiral Don Ignatio D'Alava; Captain Don Joseph de Gardoqui: taken, but got into Cadiz in the gale, dismasted.—22. *Algeziras*, 74 (French), Rear-Admiral Magon, (killed); Captain Monsieur Bruaro: taken, but got into Cadiz in the gale, dismasted.—23. *Pluton*, 74 (French), Monsieur Casmao: returned to Cadiz in a sinking state.—24. *San Juste*, 74 (Spanish), Don Miguel Gaston: returned to Cadiz; has a foremast only.—25. *San Leandro*, 64 (Spanish), Don Joseph de Quevedo: returned to Cadiz, dismasted.—26. *Neptune*, 84 (French), Monsieur Mastral: returned to Cadiz, and perfect.—27. *Heros*, 74 (French), Monsieur Poulain: returned to Cadiz; lower masts in, and Admiral Rossillie's flag on board.—28. *Principe d'Asturias*, 112 (Spanish), Admiral Don F. Gravina, Don Antonio Escano, &c.: returned to Cadiz, dismasted.—29. *Montanez*, 74 (Spanish), Don Francisco Alcedo: returned to Cadiz.—30. *Formidable*, 80 (French), Rear-Admiral Dumanoir: hauled to the southward, and escaped.—31. *Mont-Blanc*, 74 (French), Monsieur de Villegries: hauled to the southward, and escaped.—32. *Scipion*, 74 (French), Monsieur Beringer: hauled to the southward, and escaped.—33. *Duguay Trouin*, 74 (French), Monsieur Toufflet: hauled to the southward, and escaped. [The four last mentioned ships were captured by Sir Richard Strachan on the 24th of November.]

ABSTRACT.—At Gibraltar, 4.—Destroyed, 16.—In Cadiz, wrecks, 6.—In Cadiz, serviceable, 3.—Escaped to the southward, 4.—Total, 33.

one was broken at the shank, and the stock of the other shot away." Those who read, and reflect upon, the order to anchor given by Nelson to Hardy, will perceive that it was delivered, when the agonies of death had destroyed the hero's judgment, and they will probably perceive that the dying admiral spoke with irritation, in consequence of his having been asked whether Admiral Collingwood should bring the fleet to anchor. The manner of his reply to that question will afford a sufficient answer to those who have conceived that he was still capable of command. Nelson literally ordered Hardy to anchor, in consequence of the too often repeated mention of his successor's name, and at a moment when he was totally unacquainted with the state of the fleet. The following opinion of a distinguished British Admiral upon this very material point is given by the editor of the Collingwood Correspondence: "No one can regard with higher admiration than I do the great qualities of Lord Nelson, (and who can sufficiently extol them?) but, on a question of mere seamanship, it is no injustice to his fame to say, that he was inferior to Lord Collingwood, who was considered by all the navy to be a seaman of very uncommon experience and knowledge: and when we remember, that at the time when the order to anchor was given, Lord Nelson had been lying for several hours wounded below, without any opportunity of knowing the state of the fleet, it is impossible to put the judgment of the two men at that moment in competition."

It may be observed, that to anchor on a lee-shore in a gale of wind, particularly when the water shoals rapidly, no sailor would resort to, except in a case of necessity, and particularly when close to a hostile port. And it appears from Captain Bayntun's report, that the preservation of our fleet, as well as of the prizes that were got off, was entirely attributable to the skill and judgment of Admiral Collingwood in getting them out into the open sea.

Another opinion injurious to the name of Collingwood, as impeaching the clearness of his views respecting the laws of war, is put forth by the editor of the Greenwich Gallery, one of Nelson's most partial biographers. This writer, alluding to the trick practised by Admiral Alava and his captain, in

presenting the sword of the latter as having belonged to the Spanish admiral, designates the claim of Collingwood upon the Spaniard's honour as "inadmissible, and his opinion on the point mistaken." The reader shall here, however, have an opportunity of perusing the calm judgment of a brave experienced officer of our navy, Captain Brenton, on the same point, in which every unprejudiced and honourable mind will at once concur. "Alava," writes the naval historian, "though defeated and taken, was not dishonoured until he declined delivering himself up as a prisoner to Vice-Admiral Collingwood, agreeably to his parole of honour. Alava had been severely wounded, and his dissolution was considered so near, that a message was sent to Admiral Collingwood with his sword, in token of submission, requesting that he might be allowed to die in peace on board the *Santa Anna*. The request was readily granted; but when Collingwood heard of his safe arrival in port, and that he was rapidly recovering, he sent him the following letter.—"Euryalus, off Cadiz, October 30th, 1805: Sir, it is with great pleasure I have heard that the wound which you received in the action is in a hopeful way of recovery, and that your country may still have the benefit of your services. But, Sir, you surrendered yourself to me, and it was in consideration only of the state of your wound, that you were not removed into my ship. I could not disturb the repose of a man supposed to be in his last moments; but your sword, the emblem of your service, was delivered to me by your captain; and I expect that you consider yourself a prisoner of war, until you shall be regularly exchanged by cartel."

"Alava did not reply to this letter in the true spirit of Spanish chivalry, but lost the esteem of the great Collingwood by denying that the sword was his own. He was very severely wounded in the head; and the affair seems to have been arranged for him by the captain; but I cannot justify the admiral, who, I think, when recovered, should have gone out to Lord Collingwood, and received his parole."* This is the simple, manly, view of the question, conformable not only to the

* Brenton's Naval History, Vol. ii. p. 90.

rules of honour and laws of war, but overthrowing the narrow construction of Commissioner Locker; it lays the question for ever at rest, and with increased admiration for Collingwood's character as a man of the most refined sense of honour. Alava postponed his reply to Collingwood so late as the 23rd of December, when he employed the most sophistical arguments to prove that his liberty had not been forfeited. The trick of the sword was again brought forward; he also pleaded the probability that the Santa Anna would be retaken, and everything that he should not have urged; amongst others, he had the assurance to express a belief that he was entitled to the brave Collingwood's respect. The duty he owed to the interests of his country obliged the vice-admiral to correspond subsequently with this officer, which, of course, he did with that courtesy which was to be expected from his rank and reputation; but Alava never enjoyed his friendship, nor was he deserving of such an honour.

The intercourse, commenced at this period, and continued with so much credit to both, between the Marquis de Solana and the vice-admiral, was of a totally different character. Originating in the humane feelings of the latter, Solana's respect soon ripened into friendship; and these eminent men, high in power and the confidence of their respective nations, conducted hostilities in a manner calculated to elevate the character of their respective countries. Each day brought with it some practical proof of the growing regard between these great persons. Solana sent a cask of wine, and an occasional *boat-load* of fruit to the vice-admiral, while the latter sent him in return an English cheese and a cask of porter.

These interchanges of civility, these acts of laudable humanity, in which the vice-admiral and the marquis were engaged, did not obstruct the active performance of the numerous high duties that had devolved upon our hero by the lamented death of Nelson. On the 15th of November he addressed Lord Barham in an able and statesmanlike style, in favour of the different officers who fought with him in the recent action. He suggested the propriety of commissioning

the four available prizes, and of his being allowed to appoint the officers from amongst the brave fellows in the fleet, who had so well deserved promotion; the most grateful reward to every young man. His lordship replied in gratifying language, assuring Admiral Collingwood of the confidence of the Admiralty, promising to comply with his request, and forwarding to him a commission of the same extent and authority as that of Lord Nelson. How worthy of this trust, his fair inheritance, was demonstrated by his acknowledgment of the receipt of the high commission, in which he informs the Admiralty that every instruction contained in it had been anticipated by him. He had not sought promotion for private friends and on private grounds, but for the deserving of every ship: "The Victory's midshipmen," he observed, "are most of them on board the Queen, and *they* are persons for whom I feel a particular interest, because they were the Victory's." All the disabled ships had been convoyed beyond the sphere of action of the Rochefort squadron; and, as to the blockade of Cadiz, about which the lords of the Admiralty expressed the deepest anxiety, it had never been remitted for one moment. After the action, Collingwood stood out a little, with whatever ships were capable of control, and he thus describes the grounds of this conduct: "I had another view in keeping the sea at that time, (which had a little of pride in it), and that was, to show the enemy, that it was not a battle, nor a storm, which could remove a British squadron from the station which they were directed to hold."

The conduct of Admiral Collingwood after the battle of Trafalgar, afforded the most complete satisfaction to his country; and his majesty experienced so much happiness on the receipt of the account transmitted by him, that he directed his private secretary, Colonel Taylor, to express his regret for the loss of Nelson, and his unqualified admiration of his successor, in a letter to the Admiralty to the following effect:—"Windsor, 7th November, 1805. His majesty has commanded me to express, in the strongest terms, his feelings of approbation of every part of the conduct of his

gallant fleet, whose glorious and meritorious exertions are made yet more conspicuous, if possible, by the details of the opposition and difficulties which it had to encounter, both during and subsequent to the glorious action, and by the intrepidity and skill by which they were overcome. Every tribute of praise appears to his majesty due to Lord Nelson, whose loss he can never sufficiently regret; but his majesty considers it very fortunate that the command, under circumstances so critical, should have devolved upon an *officer of such consummate valour, judgment, and skill, as Admiral Collingwood has proved himself to be; every part of whose conduct he considers deserving his entire approbation and admiration.* The feeling manner in which he has described the events of that great day and those subsequent, and the modesty with which he speaks of himself, whilst he does justice, in terms so elegant and so ample, to the meritorious exertions of the gallant officers and men under his command, have also proved extremely satisfactory to the king."

The preceding, tantamount to an autograph letter from the King of England, was followed only two days after by another complimentary and most kind communication from the Duke of Clarence, himself to be king thereafter, in which, after lamenting the fall of a friend with whom he had lived on the most intimate terms for five-and-twenty years,* he proceeds: "Earl St. Vincent and Lord Nelson, both in the hour of victory accepted from me a sword; and I hope you will confer on me the same pleasure. I have accordingly sent a sword, with which I trust you will accept my sincere wishes for your future welfare. I must request you will let me have the details of the death of our departed friend; and I ever remain, dear sir, yours unalterably—William."

From the quarter whence these acknowledgments of gratitude emanated, it was obvious that public honours of no ordinary kind awaited the gallant admiral; and on the 16th of November, Lord Barham's despatch informed him that he

* Vide Wright's Life of William IV., and Clarke and Mc Arthur's Life of Nelson.



Emperor Franz Joseph I of Austria

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had been created Baron Collingwood, of Caldburne and Hethpoole, in the county of Northumberland, accompanied by the thanks of both houses of parliament. An honourable augmentation also was made to his arms, by the introduction in chief of one of the lions of England, navally crowned, and surmounted by the word Trafalgar; and an additional crest was granted at the same time, representing the stern of the Royal Sovereign: the family crest was a stag (Colin) under a tree (wood). The principal cities and corporate towns in the empire hastened to vote him their thanks and brotherhood; and parliament conferred upon him a stipend of £2000 per annum for his life, £1000 per annum to Lady Collingwood in the event of her surviving her husband, and to each of his two daughters £500 per annum. The honours were more welcome to Collingwood than the pecuniary compensation that accompanied them; and, in his first letter of congratulation to his amiable wife, he promises to terminate the naval war with France, if he can get hold of the Rochefort squadron. It is in this affectionate letter that he mentions his having dreamed, while at Morpeth, of many circumstances that subsequently occurred in the battle of Trafalgar; "but," says the brave admiral, "I never dreamed that I was to be a peer."

His ambition, however, was but partly gratified by this new distinction, in consequence of the limitation of the title, for, as he had no son, it would become extinct at his decease. "That future Collingwoods might manifest in future ages their fidelity to their country," his lordship asked to have the title continued in the heirs of his daughters. Lord Barham seemed at first to favour this reasonable request, and, no doubt, recommended it to the attention of the ministers; but, from motives that were never explained, it was not thought expedient to grant it.

There are some customs retained in the public institutions of this country, that it would be better to dispense with occasionally, and many rules in which relaxation rather than observance would be creditable and considerate. Amongst these deformities of our excellent constitution, are the total exclu-

sion of "*the people*" from the great public works and buildings, or the exaction of payment for admission, and the large sums demanded for patents of nobility, when the object of distinction is some fine fellow to whom the country is already deeply indebted. Of this inconvenience Collingwood complained to his wife: "I am afraid," he said, "the fees for this patent will be large, and pinch me,* but never mind; let others solicit pensions, I am an Englishman, and will never ask for money as a favour." This high-minded sentiment finds a parallel in the same admirable production, in which he counsels his wife as to their daughters' future conduct, "Take care that they do not give themselves foolish airs: their excellence should be in knowledge, in virtue, and benevolence to all: *but most to those who are humble, and require their aid.*" This is true nobility, and is now become an incumbent duty on them." It is not possible to conceive an instance of a mind more averse to bought services, or interested friendships, than that of Collingwood: setting a value above all price upon glory, he complained loudly against the unkindness of government in not continuing the title to his daughters' sons, but, indemnifying him and them by the grant, in preference, to the latter, of yearly pensions. Collingwood actually spurned this equivalent: "If," said he to his father-in-law, "I had a favour to ask, money would be the last thing I would beg from an impoverished country. I am not a Jew, whose god is gold; nor a Swiss, whose services are to be counted against so much money. I have motives for my conduct which I would not give in exchange for a hundred pensions." In these noble sentiments he was accidentally sustained by a large and unexpected accession to his fortune. In the month of March, 1806, the death of Mr. Edward Collingwood of Dessington and Chirton happened, and by his will a portion of his large estates was left to Lord Collingwood and his heirs male. This event made his lordship still more anxious to secure the continuance of the title, as he had now the means of enriching its future possessor—but all his efforts proved vain; and while the descendants of

* His yearly income, including his full pay as an admiral, was only one thousand pounds per annum.

Collingwood dwell in modest retirement, those of many of our law-lords, who never devoted one hour of their existence, up to the moment when they were raised to the bench, to any thing beyond their private interests, crowd the area of our House of Lords. Collingwood seemed to think that the king and the people appreciated fully the services of those who fought, and who fell, on the great day of Trafalgar, but that ministers were much less sensible of the value of that victory. They were rather tardy in their vote of thanks to the officers and men of the fleet, and the Admiralty had not corresponded with the commander-in-chief during three whole months in the spring of 1806. "Every body," says he, "seems to rejoice more than ministers."

Amongst those who felt a very warm interest in the well-deserved honour to which Collingwood had attained, his old school-fellow, Lord Chancellor Eldon, entered his venerable name, by addressing the following affectionate letter to their old tutor, the Rev. Mr. Moises, who had then attained the great age of eighty years.

"Dear Sir: I cannot forbear congratulating you, whilst we are all congratulating our country, upon the services which your former scholar, and my old schoolfellow, Lord Collingwood, has done the country, and the honour he has done himself. I can sincerely assure you, that my satisfactions upon the late events, have been materially increased, by a notion I entertain that you would receive some pleasure in recollecting that he had been educated under you. My gracious master, the king, observing the other day that Collingwood's was an excellent letter, added immediately, 'He was, however, bred at the same school as the chancellor.' I told him that I was confident the admiral would refer to you all the merit he had, either in expressing himself so well as to his language, or in expressing sentiments which do him so much honour as a virtuous and pious man. God bless you, my dear Sir, and believe me with the most sincere and affectionate regard and respect, your faithful friend and servant—Eldon."

Collingwood's talent for composition, which his majesty and

Lord Eldon had noticed, was now about to be called much more extensively into the public service, his correspondents being not only numerous, but including some of the crowned heads of Europe, and rude chieftains of Africa. It is a landmark in his life, from which his political character may be dated; and the prominent part he performed in the international transactions of Europe from that period, here call for a brief notice of the relative position of England and the other powers implicated in the war.

In the month of April, 1805, a treaty offensive and defensive was entered into by Russia and England; its object was the liberation of Europe from the tyranny of Napoleon; but so strongly did misfortune mark the commencement of their laudable efforts, that it was not until after a ten-years' struggle that any of its provisions were carried into operation. The glory of Austria was extinguished at Austerlitz; and Prussia, alarmed at her ancient rival's fate, endeavoured to save Franconia from the designs of the emperor of the French by a doubtful and treacherous policy. While the king of Prussia assented to the treaty of Potsdam, on the 3rd of November, 1805, by which he became pledged to Russia to support the allied sovereigns, his minister, Haugwitz, was signing a treaty at Vienna, ceding to Napoleon, Anspach, Neuchatel, and Cleves, and receiving from the conqueror the electorate of Hanover as an indemnity. The treachery of Prussia, in thus seizing on our Hanoverian possessions, and the infamy of her conduct in becoming a party to the convention at Potsdam, can never be excused, and her perfidy could only be noticed by a declaration of war on the part of the injured. At the opening of the following year, Napoleon amused the English cabinet with insincere overtures for peace, one of the conditions offered by him being the restoration of Hanover. As this proposal had been made without any communication with the court of Berlin, or the least consideration of the interests of Prussia, the king of that country felt the injury and the insult so poignantly, that he dared to denounce the emperor as a violator of treaties. In the desolating war that ensued,

Prussia was laid prostrate on the plains of Jena, and the peace of Tilsit gave Alexander of Russia a temporary triumph over his faithless neighbour; being awarded, in the spoliation dictated by Napoleon, whole provinces of Prussia and Sweden. While these extraordinary transactions—the truth of which will most probably be questioned when a century or two shall have rolled away—were in progress, the English nation, disappointed at the heartless indifference of the Danes to the dangers that threatened their ancient ally, bombarded Copenhagen, seized her fleet, to prevent its falling into the power of the French, and, by this violent but necessary act, forfeited the friendship of Russia.

Every port in the north of Europe, with the exception of those of Sweden, was now closed against English commerce; and so strictly was this exclusion maintained, that correspondence between England and Sweden was then only practicable *viâ* Constantinople. The Mediterranean was still the empire of Britannia, and there her political relations were managed, her supreme court presided over, and her honour maintained, by the wisdom and gallantry of Lord Collingwood. It is hardly probable that another individual could then have been found in our splendid navy, possessing that great variety of qualities and acquirements which were concentrated in this great and excellent man. His services and rank were such as to qualify him for the high situation in which he was placed, his known bravery sufficient to secure the respect of our enemies; while those powers in friendship with us expressed openly their approval of his moderation and clear judgment in the most complicated international transactions.

Naples had long enjoyed the protection of England, and the only hours due to the public service, which the great Nelson consumed in idleness and dissipation, were those passed at the court of our ally the king of the Two Sicilies. The natural but ill-concerted schemes of their Sicilian majesties to save their misgoverned dominions from the power of Napoleon, involved the allied powers in much difficulty. Want of power being accompanied with want of honour,

the Neapolitan minister did not hesitate to sign any instrument presented to him by Napoleon; while his royal master had a secret understanding with Russia, Austria, and England. Notwithstanding the great pressure of misfortune upon the champions of Europe's freedom, to the honour of England, her minister, while he expressed his readiness to associate and assist the Neapolitans and all other sincere opponents of Napoleon, declined to attach his signature to any of those documents of a hasty diplomacy, lest the character of his country might in any degree be compromised. The propriety and excellent judgment exercised in this conduct were too soon evidenced by the arrival of a courier from the north, informing the different authorities in Italy of the total defeat of the continental armies by the French, and desiring that the Russian auxiliaries might be at once withdrawn from Naples, and landed at Corfu. The English, acting upon the same intelligence, embarked on board the men of war then at anchor in the bay, and returned to the island of Sicily.

From this time, however, the fate of Naples and the fall of Ferdinand were inevitable. The imperial bulletin, in the name of Napoleon, declared that the dynasty of Naples had ceased to reign; and shortly afterwards, a second proclamation announced the scandalous usurpation of the throne of the Sicilies by Joseph Buonaparte. Were it not for the sake of justice, and to check the ambition of Napoleon, Europe would have taken or felt little interest in the fall of this faithless, feeble family. Their example was pernicious to the world; their treachery notorious; and the conduct of their public servants was precisely such as might have been expected from the practices in which they had participated: almost all the civil officers of Ferdinand, even those who proceeded to the head-quarters of the French with proposals for an accommodation, solicited employment under the usurper, and forgot to return to the service of their old master. But the acme of treachery was most fully illustrated in the Queen of Naples, the friend of Nelson, the professed admirer of British institutions and morals, who had so often escaped the poniard of her

enemies by the interposition of the immortal Nelson ; but who, in all probability, possessed not a sincere admirer amongst the English people, with the exception of the notorious Lady Hamilton :—this royal lady was convicted of conspiring with the court of France, for the destruction of the English army in Sicily, at the moment when she was enjoying the advantage of their protection. Another branch of this ancient house, on the Spanish throne, was still more conspicuous by the folly of the monarch, and the incontinence of his queen. These wretched beings, despised by their subjects, vainly imagined they could offer effectual resistance to the power of Napoleon ; but when intelligence of his victory at Jena reached Madrid, their arms fell from their hands, and they never had the opportunity of resuming them. Intrigue alone was the instrument that remained in the power of the Spanish royal family ; yet, notwithstanding their long employment of it in the acts of their lives, the emperor proved a superior master of this art also, and, persuading the drivelling king to abdicate, and compelling his son to sign a renunciation of his claims, placed his own brother on the throne, thus infamously rendered vacant. But the consequence of this policy proved fatal to its author in the end, for his colossal power received its first fatal wound through Spain, from the invincible hand of Wellington.

Besides this confirmed exclusion of our ships from the Spanish ports, jealousy amongst our fickle allies rendered our access to others profitless. Russia acted with us when her interests obviously suggested such policy ; but she held the Ionian Isles, controlled the harbours of Albania and Greece, and felt much uneasiness at the occupation of Sicily by the English. When the pope, fully sensible of the boundless projects of Napoleon, declined to denounce the English nation as enemies to the liberties of mankind, the emperor declared, “ that his predecessor, Charlemagne, had not endowed the church with territory for the benefit of heretics.” The terror of the victorious arms of France had shaken the professed alliance of the Sultan ; and the little states of

Barbary, hitherto so friendly, exhibited an inclination to join the cause of universal revolution, dismemberment of kingdoms, and aggrandisement of the modern Charlemagne. The defection of his swarthy allies on the Barbary shore, occasioned much regret to Lord Collingwood, who esteemed them highly, both as fair foes and honourable merchants. In speaking of the Algerines and other states along the coast, he said, that he found they always understood and adhered to the spirit of treaties with more fidelity than many civilized states; and, that in the disputes that sometimes arose between their ships and ours, the Barbary men were uniformly right.

Such was the state of Europe, when Collingwood became the representative of Britannia, and mediated between the conflicting interests of the various powers, whose flags floated over the Mediterranean. Amongst the foremost of the restless intriguers who appealed to the humanity of Collingwood, was the Queen of Naples; but Collingwood was less likely to be moulded to her purposes than his brave predecessor, the only spot on whose character was the consequence of his acquaintance with the infamous court of Naples. About this time the ambassador of France was intriguing at the court of Constantinople, for the rejection of Russian interference in the government of Wallachia and Moldavia, for the shutting of the Bosphorus against the navy of that nation, and all ships of any nation carrying warlike stores. For this favour the friendship of the emperor was promised, and the protection of Turkey against Russia by the French army then in Dalmatia. The Sublime Porte was confounded between the plenipotentiaries of Russia, France, and England; and after he had made an arrangement for the restoration of the Russian governor to the provinces just alluded to, they were actually entered by a Russian army. This unfortunate step accelerated hostilities, and the people of Constantinople committed acts of violence upon the Russian vessels in their port. Mr. Arbuthnot, English minister at the Ottoman court, forwarded a statement of these circumstances to Lord Collingwood, adding, that more virtue existed in a British fleet than a French

army, and that negociations would be likely to end more advantageously for England, if a few seventy-fours should happen to lie in the Bosphorus, while disputes were pending. Three ships of the line, and a frigate, were immediately ordered on this service, under Admiral Louis, whose flag was hoisted on board the *Canopus*, 80 guns. Scarcely had the squadron anchored, when the declaration of war against Russia by Turkey, rendered it prudent for the minister of the former power, to seek protection on board a British ship, and Louis, apprehensive of violence, dropped down the Dardanelles, leaving the *Endymion* frigate to wait on the British embassy. The policy of Collingwood in this instance was highly applauded by ministers, and he was directed to pursue, and carry out his objects, by strengthening the squadron off Constantinople still further. For this purpose Sir T. Duckworth was despatched with five ships more, by which he would have a total, placed under his command, of eight sail of the line and three frigates.

The orders sent out to Lord Collingwood were unfortunately delayed by adverse winds, so that he did not receive them until the sixth of January. He was then directed to second the negociations of our minister, if he was still at Constantinople; if not, to take such a position as would oblige the sultan to surrender his fleet and naval stores, and to ensure complete success. Duckworth was to await the junction of the Russian fleet under Siniavin. In consequence of the delay, for which Collingwood was not culpable, our ambassador had withdrawn from Constantinople, in the *Endymion*, which had joined Admiral Louis's squadron off Tenedos, before Duckworth's arrival. The squadron being collected off that island on the 11th February, at half past nine A.M. weighed, and stood for the Dardanelles. The commencement of the preparations for the expedition was unpropitious; orders were given for sailing, when the *Ajax*, 74 guns, was observed to be in flames, her quarter-deck crowded, and her situation alarming. The Captain, Blackwood, and many of the crew, leaped overboard, to escape the more painful death, but he was picked up after being half an hour in the water, and about four hun-

dred men were saved by the boats of the other ships. Three hundred perished in the flames, or by drowning, and the rapidity of the conflagration astonished the most experienced sailor in the fleet. Having burnt to the water's edge, the hulk drifted to the shores of Tenedos, where she struck, and blew up.

The squadron was not checked in its objects by this misfortune, but weighing once again, and stood for the Dardanelles, prepared for battle. As they entered the narrowest part, the batteries opened their fire, and damaged our ships, but not so materially as to prevent them from engaging the Turkish fleet, which then hove in sight. The gallantry and seamanship of Sir Sydney Smith, in the *Pompée*, 74 guns, soon brought the contest to a conclusion; the whole of the Turkish ships cut their cables, and ran ashore. Sir Sydney now signaled for the boats to pursue and set them on fire, which was successfully accomplished; and when he had seen most of them blown up, he rejoined the squadron. The fleet now worked up towards Constantinople, and, perceiving a second Turkish squadron approach, anchored in the way, but the Mussulmen would not come out, and Duckworth did not oblige them to fight. He had been ordered to grant to the Sublime Porte two hours for deliberation, but he allowed two days to be consumed in useless negotiation. Finding that the time had passed when the presence of a British fleet could have seconded the arguments of our ambassador, the commander-in-chief weighed, and returned to the Archipelago. Between the interval of the passing and return of the British squadron, the Turks had been indefatigable in adding to the number of their forts, and our ships sustained the fire of those monster-mortars, such as might be described in an Eastern tale, but, with this exception, never had a real existence. The calibre of these guns was two feet and a half in diameter, and they were charged usually with stone shot. On a subsequent occasion, this fort was visited by the officers of an English man-of-war, when "five midshipmen, at the same time, followed each other on their hands and knees into one of these guns, then loaded with a stone shot." This expedition owed its failure to a variety of

causes—the delay that occurred in forwarding orders to Lord Collingwood—the extension of the time to which the negotiation had been limited—and the error of the admiral, in not trying the effect of a few shells amongst the domes and minarets of the seraglio.

But the admiral must be permitted to explain his motives in his own language. Extract from Sir T. Duckworth's despatches to Lord Collingwood: "I am now come to the point of explaining to your lordship, the motives which fixed me to decide on repassing the channel of the Dardanelles, and relinquishing every idea of attacking the capital; and I feel confident it will require no argument to convince your lordship of the utter impracticability of our force making any impression. At the time that the whole line of coast presented a chain of batteries, two Turkish line-of-battle ships, both of them three-deckers, nine frigates, were, with their sails bent, and in apparent readiness, filled with troops: 200,000 men were reported to be in Constantinople, ready to march against the Russians, and an innumerable quantity of small craft, and five vessels were prepared to act against us. With batteries alone we might have coped; or with the ships, could we have got them out of their strong holds; but your lordship will be aware, that after combating the opposition, which the resources of an empire had been many weeks employed in preparing, we should have been in no state to have defended ourselves against them as described, and then repass the Dardanelles. I know it was my duty, in obedience to your lordship's order, to attempt anything that appeared within the compass of possibility; but when the unavoidable sacrifice of the squadron committed to my charge, must have been the consequence of pursuing that object, it at once became my positive duty, however wounded in pride and ambition, to relinquish it." In this explanation Sir John does not exhibit an acquaintance with the national character of his countrymen, and seems profoundly ignorant of the principles that actuated Nelson and Collingwood, and placed them, with the unanimous approbation of the empire, at the head of our naval power. Byng was literally murdered

for having used too much caution in the presence of an enemy; Nelson's maxim was, "When in doubt, fight—and you're sure to be right."

A young officer, who was appointed to the care of a convoy, with too weak a force, having asked the admiral's advice, should he fall in with the enemy: received this answer, "Let them sink *you*, and that will give the convoy time to escape." Collingwood did not use such a phrase as "if possible." Troubridge advised his officers "not to raise up difficulties;" and Sir Edward Codrington, who was brought up in the same school, knew that he would be more welcome to his countrymen, even after the "untoward event" of Navarino, than if, from prudential motives, he had avoided a conflict between the fleets.

It is not here pretended that Duckworth could have made a serious impression upon Constantinople, nor denied that shot of such magnitude were ever employed against shipping, since the invention of artillery, but he should have attempted, or rather done something signal, and should not have collected an infinite number of difficulties in his despatches; from which, if he was braver than Collingwood, the world must conclude that he felt little or no inclination to provoke the Turks.

If Baron de Tott's account of the monster-guns placed on the shores of the Dardanelles be founded in fact, there can be no doubt that our ships must have been dreadfully shattered in any attempt to silence them. "The largest of these guns," says the baron, "was cast in the reign of Amurath; it consisted of two parts joined by a screw at the chamber, while the breach reclined against massy stone work. Under the baron's superintendence this great gun was loaded with 330lbs. of powder, and a granite ball weighing 1100lbs. and its discharge produced a shock like that of an earthquake. The baron adds, that at the distance of 800 fathoms, he saw the ball divide into three fragments, which all crossed the strait, and rebounded on the mountain." The narrative of Baron de Tott must not be identified with those of another baron of miraculous memory; for the granite shots which struck the ships of Duckworth's squadron weighed upwards of 800lbs.

Our fleet, however, escaped through the Dardanelles, and on its egress met a Russian squadron, of eight sail, under the command of Vice-Admiral Siniavin. The Russians, undeterred by the accounts of the dangers the English had undergone, proposed that the combined squadron should return, and renew the attack, but the proposal was too coldly declined. Thus terminated an abortive attempt on Constantinople, and Duckworth finding no further occupation in the Archipelago, steered for the coast of Egypt, to co-operate with a British force, which he had understood to have been sent there to punish the perfidy of the Turks in that quarter.

By Duckworth's absence, the Mediterranean fleet was much weakened, and the importunities of the king and queen of Naples, that Collingwood should come with all his fleet, and protect their capital and their coasts alone, were replied to with feeling and prudence. While he regretted their misfortunes, he endeavoured to show that their policy was weak, for that the operations of the enemy's fleet would be more effectually crippled by his intercepting their ships as they entered the straits, than by letting them pass in, and then going in search of them in the open seas ! He also promised to protect Sicily, and to annoy the French forces on the Italian shore.

Cadiz continued to be blockaded, but the service presented more occasion for activity than at former periods when Collingwood lay before that harbour ; and his own situation in life was very materially altered. It was at this period, however, that his complaints against the Admiralty, for supineness, were loudest. They had not answered him as to the prizes, the promotion of officers, or any other subject. "I never," said the admiral, "did, nor shall I do anything but what I conceive to be for the public good. I am not ambitious of power or wealth more than I have, nor have I connexions of any kind to sway me from the strict line of my duty to the country. I have neither sons nor cousins to promote by any of those tricks which I have ever held in contempt, so that when I err, it will be from my head, not from my heart."

The cloud of political correspondence which burst on Col-

lingwood, when he succeeded to Nelson's late command, included many distressing, unpleasant, and difficult points: the king of Naples trespassed much on his valuable time, the queen endeavoured to throw those toils over him, in which Nelson was entangled; the various corporate bodies in England returned him their thanks, and presented him with their respective freedoms; but the Admiralty actually abandoned him, for, while he laboured for every thing likely to promote the interest of his country, he never received the least recognition or encouragement from that portion of the government.

The court of Naples, with an infamy quite peculiar, carried on secret negociations with Napoleon; a fact which Lord Collingwood suspected, but was too noble-minded to attribute openly to such illustrious persons; but he gave it as his opinion, that "the only mode whereby the Neapolitan family and people could be saved from total ruin, was, by not leaving it in their power to make great sacrifices, in the vain hope of saving the rest of their dominions." With this impression on his mind, his lordship had authorized one of the noblest officers in the service, Sir Sydney Smith, to attend to the occupation of Sicily, to keep off all foreign ships of war from that island, and to take possession of a secure port there, as an asylum for the British fleet. In the instructions given by Lord Collingwood to Sir Sidney Smith, his lordship endeavoured to convince that gallant officer of the inefficiency "of explosion vessels and sky-rockets;" he declared that he knew no instance of a favourable result from the use of them. They seem merely, he thought, to exasperate, to harass our own people, and, by reducing the companies of the ships, to render them unfit for real service when it was wanted: he also looked on this system, as a general mode of warfare, to be unworthy of the English, because their operations chiefly affected laborious individuals, who knew nothing of war but its miseries. This humane policy was adopted in this instance from respect for the source whence the advice and opinion originated, and wisdom has since seconded humanity in giving confirmation to Collingwood's opinion.

During the month of March 1806, the commander-in-chief kept the open sea in the *Queen*, receiving and despatching by his frigates official communications. His applications to the Admiralty relative to the promotion of those officers who appeared to him to be the most deserving, were incessant, yet unattended to, and the grounds of his complaints against that board, being of a general, honourable nature, are highly deserving of repetition here: they are not applicable to his case only, but to our service, even to our public institutions generally. Collingwood had always been of opinion, that promotion should be rapid, on the spot, and emanating from the commander-in-chief: in which conclusion he is supported by the matured and oft-repeated opinions of Lord Nelson and the Duke of Wellington—men of totally different temperaments, and having no features of character in common, but bravery, and devotion to their country. It is not, therefore, to any proneness to discontent that the complaint of Collingwood is to be attributed, “that Lieutenant Landless, an old and valuable officer, who had followed him through the war, was passed over; his first lieutenant also remained in the *Weasel*, where Collingwood placed him, covered with wounds, while persons serving in private ships were made post-captains.” As for his second lieutenant, his lordship, in the bitterness of disappointment at the mismanagement of our naval administration, said, he considered it a happy circumstance for him to have fallen in battle, as he was thereby spared the mortification, to which he would otherwise have been subjected. In fact, for some unaccountable cause the recommendation of the commander-in-chief was most imprudently, unjustly, and culpably neglected, and private influence allowed to predominate to an injurious length. Clavell, the companion of the brave Collingwood in the most desperate engagements ever fought at sea, owed his trifling promotion to a death-vacancy, with which the Admiralty had nothing to do; and so mortified were the young men who served at Trafalgar, by this species of public ingratitude, that they all asked leave to go home, as they had actually lost their chance of promotion by being with the fleet. While these

favours, sought from a consciousness of public justice and national gratitude were withheld from our great commander, he still pursued unremittingly the laborious diplomatic duties that devolved upon him after the silencing of the combined fleet in the Mediterranean. "I am," said he, "perplexed with having such a compound of various affairs to settle, am up sometimes half the night to make arrangements, and have not stirred from my desk these ten days, scarcely to see the sun." Amongst the labours of his bureau at this period was a correspondence with Admiral Rosilly relative to an exchange of French and English prisoners; to which Collingwood, the untiring advocate of humanity, at once assented, specifying clearly the conditions. The Frenchman, attempting to evade the conditions, was soon rendered sensible of the contempt for his character, as well as total frustration of his schemes, that would be the result; upon which he hastened to apologize and explain away suspicions in a lengthened communication to his lordship; but the real estimate which the English admiral formed of his worth, is ascertained by the following brief note which he endorsed on the letter. "Admiral Rosilly's apology, with some light French stuff."

While Nelson lived, the Portuguese were weak enough to attempt the establishment of a neutrality for themselves, while all the world saw the futility of such an effort contrary to the pleasure of Bonaparte. With a singular degree of impudence, ingratitude, and meanness, they restricted the supply of refreshments and water for which our ships applied at Lagos, and even subjected the limitation to the inspection and interference of the French consul. Judging of their difficulties, and knowing their unequal strength, Nelson overlooked much of their apparent ingratitude; but the interference of a Frenchman in the business, excited Nelson's rage to such a height, that he felt overcome with indignation, became almost incompetent to dictate the precise line of conduct to his officers, and threw himself upon the calm judgment of Lord Strangford, our ambassador at Lisbon, praying that his lordship would countenance him in retaliating upon the Portu-

guess for every insult offered to a British sailor or subject in a neutral port. "As to water," says this splendid specimen of an English sailor, "I never heard before, that any limited quantity was allowed, much less that if a dirty shirt was washed, any French or Spanish consul should be allowed to say, 'You English shall either wear a dirty shirt, or go without water to drink,' and that a sentinel of a neutral power should presume to threaten to fire, if an ally presumed to take water. I shall send a ship or ships to take water in Lagos. They shall wash, or let it run overboard, if they please." This was certainly an extraordinary composition, when viewed as a letter of remonstrance only, but the language is precisely such as the conduct of the Portuguese had laid themselves open to, and is highly characteristic of the great man who dictated it. While Nelson lived, this intelligible communication was respected; but the successes of the French all over Europe, the Mediterranean excepted, induced the Portuguese to lapse into their pristine misconduct. This return to impropriety affords an interesting opportunity of contrasting the characters of Nelson and Collingwood; we have already shown the summary policy of the one, and the impassioned but honourable view which he took of the treatment of our sailors; the following extracts from Collingwood's beautiful, his admirable appeal to Lord Robert Fitzgerald, who succeeded Lord Strangford, while it is equally indicative of the most unbending resolution, cannot fail to excite the highest admiration for the humanity, amiability, and elegance of the English admiral's mind. "I have," said Collingwood, "been fully sensible of the jealousy entertained by the French, of our ships being supplied with refreshments from Portugal, and anxiously desirous that a nation, between which and Great Britain, so long and so faithful a friendship has subsisted, should not be subjected, on that account, to disagreeable discussions with an enemy, I have forborne to send ships to their ports. If the Portuguese minister meant that we should take our supplies secretly by night, I certainly did give strict orders that no such illicit correspondence should be held.

What is due to neutrality, we have a right to receive in the face of day. If Portugal be unhappily in such a situation that she must veil her friendship, and look sternly on those whom she was wont to welcome with open arms, her misfortune is to be deplored; but I never will allow the dignity of the British flag to be questioned by the ships engaging in an intercourse, which will not bear to be looked upon by the whole world. That our thus declining supplies, because the mode of furnishing them was considered as derogatory to the dignity of the British name, should be considered as an infringement of the most strict neutrality, is what I do not comprehend; and I should suspect that there must have been some misapprehension by the officer at Lagos, and that he has stated his own mistaken ideas instead of the fact." How different the mode of each great man to attain the same end—how honourable to both—how gratifying the reflection, that the English navy could have boasted at the same time of two such subjects!

From the Queen, Admiral Collingwood shifted his flag to the Ocean, a new ship, therefore, as sailors say, "wanting everything to be done to her, to fit her for war." This was at the beginning of the year 1806, when, in addition to the multiplicity of public affairs, his lordship received very frequent communications from England relative to the better arrangement of the affairs of his family, and future improvement and disposition of his estates. These applications enable us to ascertain with perfect certainty the leading feature of this great man's character, for while he evidently entertained a strong and unalterable affection for his wife and children, and derived no ordinary degree of pleasure from a feeling that they participated in his worldly aggrandizement; still the love of his country, the service of his king, the pursuit of glory, were superior in their attractive power, and Collingwood evidently looked on earthly wealth as things that would perish and be forgotten: "My sister," says his lordship, "wrote to me on the necessity of my going home, to direct my private concerns in the north; but they seem so insignificant to the

duty I have to do here, that I cannot even think of them. I have not heard enough about them, to be able to give any direction on the subject; but I dare say my brother will take care that everything proper is done." And in the same correspondence he adds: "To possess riches is not the object of my ambition, but to deserve them; but I was in hopes I should have got another medal: of that, indeed, I was ambitious." Many other passages might be cited from his published despatches and private correspondence, to prove his contempt of riches, and love of fame; a fact that cannot fail to excite the regret of those who admire this excellent man's character, that the title of Collingwood had not been continued, like that of Nelson, to the heirs-general of his race, as this alone would have rewarded the exertions, and given full compensation to such a mind. Lord Castlereagh took a different view of the affairs of this life—insisted upon pensioning off the great man's family in coin of the realm, and took neither trouble to understand, nor care to estimate, the splendid character of the naval hero.

The Ocean lay off the Straits of Gibraltar; and where she lay, there the naval supremacy of Britannia was enthroned, and there Collingwood, as the representative of our ocean-home, was again supplicated by the king of Naples, in May, 1806, for that aid which England had so often extended to the Neapolitans; and his petition was treated with respect, consideration, and humanity. Sir Sydney Smith had previously been appointed to the duty of protecting Sicily, ever since Naples seemed destined to fall; and the service of the English king could not have furnished forth a more chivalrous character. But Collingwood recommended both the Neapolitan monarch, and the British envoy at his court, to animate the population of the Two Sicilies in defence of their country; not merely by the example of British troops, but by that of their own nobility and gentry engaging in the service of their sovereign, and bearing the fatigues of war in common with the people. While he thus recommended that the people were to be led, not by a light borrowed from the courage of the English

people; but rather by the example of their nobles, his lordship seems to have forgotten that even that illustration was taken from English history; for, in what country on earth have the nobility always set such an example of heroism and devotion to their country as in England. The Duke of Wellington, son of the Earl of Mornington, commanded in the battle of Waterloo, and the Marquis of Anglesea, son of the Earl of Uxbridge, was second on that day; while the aides-de-camps of both were chosen from other families of distinction. This is one of one hundred instances that might be adduced of the personal bravery of the English nobility, and is only given because it is the most recent, and, from the defeat of Napoleon, will for ever continue to be the most celebrated.

The destruction of the combined fleet changed materially the character of the war: driven from the seas, the exertions of the enemy on land were redoubled; while blockading, watching, and waiting, were the principal duties of our Mediterranean fleet. Collingwood continued to cruise off Cadiz, in hopes something would turn up, anxiously looking towards the Straits, which he thought the French would have made an attempt to enter long before. At this time, May, 1806, he had been three years at sea, having in that interval scarcely set his foot on shore; and although his general health continued good, he complained that "his body grew weak, and his limbs lady-like." Although he did not feel any inconvenience from approaching infirmity, his mind seemed to dwell much, at this period, upon the fatigues he had undergone, and the pleasure that he would derive from a life of retirement, in the bosom of his family; his letter to Lady Collingwood, in which these feelings are fully expressed, does everlasting honour to his heart:—"After this life of labour," writes his lordship, "to retire to peace and quietness is all I look for in the world. Whenever I think how happy I am to be again, my thoughts carry me back to Morpeth, where, out of the fuss and parade of the world, surrounded by those I loved most dearly, and who loved me, I enjoyed as much happiness as my nature is capable of. Many things that I see in the world give me a

distaste to the finery of it. The great knaves are not like those poor unfortunates, who, driven, perhaps, to distress from accidents which they could not prevent, or, at least, not educated in principles of honour and honesty, are hanged for some little thievery; while a knave, of education and high breeding, who brandishes his honour in the eyes of the world, would rob a state to its ruin. For the first I feel pity and compassion; for the latter, abhorrence and contempt—they are the tenfold vicious.” That Collingwood’s conceptions were noble, and his heart excellent, no possible doubt can exist; but to this anti-aristocratic sentiment he was probably led by the unmerited neglect of his request, that the title might be continued to the heirs of his daughters. To accomplish this, the darling object of his ambition, the aid of Lords Howick, Barham, and Radstock were successively called in, but Lord Castlereagh was immoveable in his determination; and this noble being, who had done more for the glory and security of his country in one day, than the cold-hearted minister had in the whole of his memorable existence, was destined to be a prey to disappointed ambition, and the flagrant ingratitude of his country towards him.

During the season of 1806, Sicily continued to engage the attention of the English admiral, and he had the good fortune to find an active, intelligent seconder of his wise propositions for the organization of the Sicilians, in Sir John Acton. This zealous officer quickly perceived the soundness of Collingwood’s political views, and very eagerly embraced all his plans for the security and the defence of the island; and, on the assemblage of a Palermitan parliament, he urged upon the members the nobleness and wisdom of Lord Collingwood’s advice, that the higher classes of Sicilian society should be foremost in examples of courage and loyalty. In succouring Sicily, Collingwood but adopted the views of all honest supporters of the cause of freedom in Europe. The king of Naples, and Sir John Acton, both desired England’s assistance in keeping the French out of that island; the British cabinet had directed a large force, under Generals Fox and Moore, to be

landed there; and the queen's party alone conceived that Naples should be defended in preference to Palermo. The character of this illustrious intriguer is a sufficient explanation of the inattention of Collingwood to her importunities for help. All the snares of that siren-queen were put in requisition, to blind the judgment and subdue the honesty of the admiral; the flattering promise of another Sicilian dukedom, such as our poor Nelson was befooled with by the same woman, was made to his successor, provided he would attempt to save Naples rather than Sicily; but her character was too well known to the officers of the British navy, who beheld with sorrow the ruinous influence of that same party over the mind of Nelson; and Collingwood declared, that should the empty title be offered to him, he would tell her majesty, that he was the servant of his sovereign alone, and could receive no rewards from foreign princes. His lordship held a mean opinion of the integrity of the queen, and of the abilities of her husband, their own pusillanimity had reduced them to the condition in which they were placed; and, as to giving them money, which they were eternally craving, in his opinion, if Mount *Ætna* were made of gold, the royal family of Naples would still be poor, for they had not discretion enough to manage their finances.

The Spaniards beginning to recover from the loss of their navy at *Trafalgar*, were wonderfully active in refitting and manning another fleet, but showed no wish to proceed to sea incautiously: the refitted vessels were moved down into the outer harbour of *Cadiz*, exciting thereby the hopes of Collingwood, who kept a most strict look-out for them, and prevented their escape in any direction. The coast of *Calabria* also demanded the admiral's attention, as the French were wasting that country, but his lordship had very effectually provided for the annoyance of the enemy in that quarter, by the appointment of *Sir Sydney Smith* to the *Calabrese* station. This gallant officer executed his commission with the usual zeal of a British sailor, but with abilities and courage peculiarly his own. Visiting all the strong places along the coast, *Sir Sydney*



ma petite

dismantled some, and reduced others to ashes, rendering the French tenure of that country less secure, and the disembarkation of the English troops much less difficult. In these important services he received valuable assistance from Captain Hoste, with whose name the reader of Nelson's life is familiar, having entered the service under that hero's patronage, and being long associated with young Nisbett, the excellent and gallant son-in-law of Nelson. Valuable and prudent as were the services of Sir Sydney Smith, under the orders of Collingwood, and efficacious in crippling the resources and obstructing the plans of the French, still Lord Howick, who had left the Admiralty, and been made secretary of state, did not consider the island of Sicily to be safe from the descent of the enemy's forces, until Collingwood's flag floated in the Sicilian seas. This was the first and only interruption that occurred to the dull service in which the admiral was engaged, during thirteen months, an interruption to which he cheerfully submitted, by leaving Sir John Duckworth to watch Cadiz, and steering eastward. In his long blockading services in the Mediterranean, he had not previously acted on the advice or suggestion of any individual, however high or eminent; it was scarcely possible that any statesman could have had a more clear perception of the relations that existed between the powers on the Mediterranean coasts, and his experience gave him such a superiority in this instance, that no one could question his qualifications for the station. Being always open to conviction, he had, by the lucid character of his despatches, acquired the respect of Lords Barham and Howick, while they were at the Admiralty; but the friendship which had grown up between him and the latter lord, during their official intercourse, induced him to pay that attention to his counsels which he had long before concluded they were entitled to. Just, however, as this intimacy had been cemented, the injurious system of removing men from public situations as soon as they have acquired a knowledge of their duties, and thereby become useful servants, occasioned the removal of Lord Howick, and the appointment of Mr. Grenville, with whom Lord Colling-

wood had to exchange a new series of communications, before reciprocal confidence could be established. The opening of their correspondence must, in all probability, have startled Mr. Grenville; the admiral having stated, in the most sincere and unaffected manner, "that he was anxious for an opportunity to dispose of the Dons, and wished for a fight:" "a battle," said Collingwood, "is nothing to the fatigue and anxiety of such a life as we blockaders lead. This is my second Christmas at sea, without dropping an anchor, and, unless it shall please God to take the Corsican out of this world, I see no prospect of a change." These distinct impressions were communicated with more than usual plainness of style—an example which he repeated in his warnings to Sir Sydney Smith to beware of the thorns that were momentarily springing up in the hotbeds of Neapolitan intrigues. The clearness, the elegance, the wisdom which were conspicuous in Lord Collingwood's despatches, secured for him the ready obedience of his officers, and the admiration and friendship of men in power.—The following anecdote is a strong instance of the plain straightforward manner of the admiral in his intercourse with his officers, and the intelligible language in which his instructions to them were always written. "When he sent Sir John Duckworth to the Dardanelles, the orders he gave to that admiral were so clear and distinct, that it was thought impossible to misconstrue them. Duckworth, after looking over them, returned into the cabin, and asked the commander-in-chief what he was to do, in the event of certain contingencies? 'Read your orders,' said the plain-dealing, upright admiral, 'and then, if you don't understand them, come to me, and I will explain them.' Duckworth read his orders again with attention, and told his chief, that he was perfectly satisfied. 'This is the way in which orders should be given. Ambiguity admits of no excuse, and is highly criminal where the life, liberty, or character of one human being may be compromised.'*

Collingwood's anxiety to stand well with the lords of the

*Brenton's Naval History, vol. ii. p. 641.

Admiralty, and regret at the frequent removals of efficient men from that board, to make way for political partisans, however incompetent, were allayed by the approbation of Mr. Grenville, which he frequently had the pleasure to receive during the first months of the year 1807. That minister assured him that every order he had issued, from the hour of Nelson's death, was an anticipation of the wishes of the British cabinet. In suggesting the appointment of Duckworth to the command of the expedition to Constantinople, Mr. Grenville violated that etiquette to which naval and military men are necessarily attached; but Collingwood was superior to every feeling of jealousy, and, agreeing with Mr. Grenville's views, which were, that his services off the Spanish coast could not be dispensed with, he strengthened Duckworth's squadron even beyond the Admiralty orders, though at the expense of weakening himself, and promoted the objects of government by every means in his power. This conduct, in conjunction with Collingwood's well-earned reputation and absolute worth, secured for him the respect and admiration of Mr. Grenville, as firmly as of his predecessors, and when that gentleman was in his turn retiring from the Admiralty, he thus addressed our hero: "I cannot deny myself the pleasure of acknowledging how much I have felt myself indebted to you, for the attention and confidence with which you have been so good as to communicate with me, while at the Admiralty. Had I remained there, I should have thought it my particular duty to have expressed to you the entire satisfaction which I had felt in the orders and arrangements made by you, for the service of the Dardanelles, and for that of Alexandria: to both of which you had supplied all that could contribute to their success." The same attention to orders, the same zeal in the service of his country, which had actuated this great man through his eventful life, was visible in his manner of equipping the expeditions to the Dardanelles and Alexandria. To this latter service he appointed Captain Hallowell, of the *Tigre*, a man of tried courage, and possessing an extensive knowledge of that country and its inhabitants. Some thousand troops were to be con-

veyed in transports under his protection, to the coast of Egypt, and, in the orders given to this officer, was included a most strict injunction to secrecy. The selection of Hallowell for this service, is in itself a demonstration of Collingwood's own fitness for the duties of commander-in-chief, the abilities, and experience of the man on that station, being his only recommendation, and with which claims the admiral was intimately acquainted. His lordship was impressed with a strong conviction of the importance of seizing Alexandria, and looked on Hallowell as the most competent officer in the fleet for that particular service. The cession of Egypt to the French was then apprehended by his lordship, as well as by the British cabinet, for the opinion he entertained of Napoleon's love of universal command was fixed immutably, and his prophecy of that great man's fall somewhat singular, and certainly sustained by events: "Wherever Napoleon reigns, said Lord Collingwood, there is the domination of power, which is felt or dreaded by all. His rule is repugnant to the interests and welfare of the people: and whenever his tide of greatness is at the full, *his ebb will be more rapid than his rise.*" So exactly did circumstances correspond with this interpretation, that there is no instance perhaps in history of so powerful a conqueror being so rapidly overthrown. A single battle decided the fate of his imperial crown.

The renown of Napoleon, and his martial glory, were without limit; every kingdom of Europe, England excepted, either acknowledged his power from apprehension of its being employed against themselves, or by conquest was reduced into the rank of a province of his empire. The king of Prussia was so fallen, that he took shelter in an humble tradesman's house, where, as Lord Collingwood observed, if his mind was still upon his throne, he might devise means of rescuing his kingdom from the thralldom in which it was then held by the emperor of the French. "Gustavus Vasa planned the emancipation of his country, while he resided in the iron-mines of Dalecarlia; nor did Charles XII. think himself less a monarch when a kitchen served him for a palace." These historic paral-

les afforded encouragement to the exiled and suffering princes ; and had the illustration been pursued further, the result would have proved that even in this world virtue finds its just recompense."*

Ministers now wished to dictate to the man whom in the preceding year they appeared to have forgotten, and in this they lauded to the skies. They suggested to him the policy of blockading Toulon ; but his lordship resisted their wishes because Sicily, Naples, and Egypt would, he thought, be more effectually covered by a fleet off the first-named station, than by fixing their eyes upon a port from which escape was known to be always easy. He had consented to their plan for humbling the pride of the Grand Turk, and now heartily repented it : he declared that our fallure at Constantinople and Alexandria "had worn him to a thread." Whether these public losses had acted too deeply on his mind, or incessant fagging had operated upon his frame, Collingwood now, for the first time, complained of approaching infirmity ; his eyes, he said, grew weak, his body swollen, and his legs shrunk. This state of health did not interfere with his diplomatic duties, which continued as onerous as before ; and now called on him to reconcile the bey of Tunis to the existing state of the laws of nations, by giving the fullest assurance that justice should be done to the Tuniseens, whose property had been captured, as the bey stated, unjustly, at Malta. Although he had not been previously acquainted with the grounds of the bey's dissatisfaction, the seizure having occurred so far before as in the year 1796, he immediately applied to Lord Castlereagh on the subject, and gave the Tuniseens such a character as should have entitled them to his lordship's consideration.

Sir A. Paget being deputed as ambassador-extraordinary to the Ottoman Porte, proceeded to the capital of the Turks, and there endeavoured to assist in extricating that insatuated race, from the embarrassments in which they were involved by the ancient designs of Russia upon their misgoverned country, and by Napoleon's insatiable love of conquest. Our mode of

treating with the Turks has uniformly been by an union of all the intrigues of diplomacy with the *threats* of immediate war; in this particular case, Sir A. Paget was the diplomatist and Collingwood the menacer of Turkish independence, by appearing at the entrance of the Dardanelles with a British fleet. We did not trust to the effect which our armed ships would produce upon the Mussulmans, but had also taken possession of Egypt. Such, however, is the uncertainty of ministerial resolves, that while negotiations for peace were progressing through the assistance of Sir Arthur Paget and Lord Collingwood, the new British cabinet ordered the evacuation of Egypt by our troops. The occupation of Alexandria was certainly a matter of indifference to the grand signior, but its abandonment was looked on by the inhabitants as tantamount to delivering them into the hands of a set of assassins, for in that light they then viewed the Albanian troops of Mehemet Ali.

Our ambassador urged the providence of sending an authorized and trust-worthy person, to take upon him the government of Egypt, but the Albanian party enjoyed an *imperium in imperio* too powerful to be affected by English influence, and secretly abetted by the French, with whom Mehemet had formed a sort of *publico-privato* friendship that continued during his life, and was never violated by either parties to the covenant. The blockade of Constantinople was continued, but with little effect, as the city received its supplies from sources unconnected with the navigation of the Dardanelles, and the only sufferers by the rigidity of the proceedings were the inhabitants of the Greek islands, whose trade consisted in carrying wax and corn to the Peninsula of Spain and Portugal. These unoffending people were obliged to lay up their small vessels altogether and abandon the seas. As for the Turkish fleet, alarmed at the neighbourhood they had got in, by the arrival of Collingwood off Tenedos, they warped up, and made sail with every favourable breeze from such dangerous acquaintances, so that in a few days a solitary, silent duty remained for the English fleet, the blockade of waters that were not navigated by ships of war, or vessels of

commerce. This dull service probably proved more injurious to ourselves than to the Turks, as they are an indolent race, devoted to luxury, and inhabitants of a climate and country of such fertility, that little labour is required to obtain subsistence, and even that little is contributed by Christians, Jews, and other races of people whom the Mussulmans despise. The mild, yet resolute and decisive conduct of Collingwood, secured to him the friendly consideration of the Turkish authorities, and on one occasion he dined with the lord high admiral of the Ottoman fleet, a ceremony which he describes, in a letter to his lady, with a degree of accuracy that shows how close an observer he must have been in every instance of his life. "There were only five of us at table," writes his lordship, "the Capitan Pacha, the Pacha of the Dardanelles, my friend the Capigi Basha, with beards down to their girdles, Captain Henry, and the Dragoman. There were neither plates nor knives and forks, but each had a tortoise-shell spoon. In the middle of the table was a rich embroidered cushion, on which was a large gold salver, and every dish, to the number of forty, was brought in singly and placed upon the salver, when the company helped themselves with their fingers, or, if it was fricasée, with a spoon. One of the dishes was a roasted lamb stuffed with a pudding of rice; the Capitan Pacha took it by the limbs, and tore it to pieces to help his guests, so that you see the art of carving has not arrived at any great perfection in Turkey. The coffee-cups were of beautiful China, which, instead of saucers, were inserted in gold stands like egg-cups, set round with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds. They drank only water, and were waited on by the vice and rear admirals and some of the captains of the fleet. When our gentlemen left them, the Pacha of the Dardanelles presented them each with a shawl, which is considered as a token of friendship." This mark of respect for the English presents a singular instance of inconsistency in national character; the Turks affect to despise all Christian dogs, ridicule the humanity of our institutions, and the scrupulousness of our laws in capital

offences, and, in treating with their own insubordinate people, execute the most summary and sanguinary justice ; yet were the English infinitely better regarded by them than the Russians, who emulated them, at this precise time, by annihilating a large proportion of the inhabitants of Tenedos.

While sustaining our negociations with a people whom we most unnecessarily offended, Collingwood's health continued to decay, and in its approaching ruin anxiety of mind largely contributed. He disapproved of a Turkish war ; he regretted the evacuation of Egypt at a time when remaining there might have accelerated our negociations, and the army were in no danger of famine, and, in addition to these sources of sorrow on the public account, at the close of the year 1807, the Russians extricated themselves from their perplexities for a while by a peace, with the French emperor. As this was rather the result of necessity than choice, the Russian admiral Siniavin, communicated the intelligence to the English admiral with somewhat humbled feelings, and withdrew his squadron from the blockading station. The futility of the blockade of the Dardanelles was so obvious to the admiral, that he at length remonstrated with Lord Mulgrave upon it, pointing out to him the difficulty and peril that attended the navigation of a sea crowded with islands, and islets, and rocks, such as the Grecian Archipelago, and suggesting the more prudent course of stationing cruisers at each end of Candia, by which every port in the *Ægean* would be most effectually blockaded.

For the first time impatience began to manifest itself in the actions of the brave admiral, obviously the consequence of unequal health ; the useless service in which he was engaged, irritated him invariably : "poison," said the admiral, "is sometimes sweet, but this is poison with all its bitterness." He next addressed a letter of remonstrance and explanation to the Capitan Pacha, which was an interference with the duties of our ambassador, but so unceasing was his uneasiness, that he took the duty of mediator, in this instance, upon himself. Aware that this was a transgression of etiquette, he acknowledged the irregularity, but defended his conduct on the ground of expe-

diency, and the public good, but in language mixed up with complaint and some expressions of weariness with the fatigue of his earthly pilgrimage. Hitherto an easy, considerate disposition, he now objected to the gaieties that endured in England, while the liberties of Europe were menaced by the most powerful monarch since the time of Charlemagne. Those outpourings originated in an invasion of that robustness of constitution which he had hitherto unremittingly enjoyed.

At length, on the sixteenth of Sept. 1807, Collingwood sailed from Tenedos, distressed in mind, and worn out in person, and steered for the coast of Sicily. The rapid strides of Napoleon's career extended over all the kingdoms of Europe, his out-stretched arm levelled the most powerful of his antagonists, and the ability of his counsels deceived the unsuspecting. New sources of regret were presented to the too anxious admiral in the surrender of Corfu to our enemies, and the want of decision in the Turks, who had yielded to the direction of Napoleon from intimidation, while their professions, which cannot be doubted, were in favour of an alliance with England. Martin and Kent were left in the Hellespont, until Sir A. Paget felt further continuance at Constantinople useless, and the admiral had ordered Campbell to cruise between Corfu and St. Mary. Amidst "inconvenience and distraction, in sickness and in sorrow," the admiral continued to take the most active and able measures for intercepting the enemy, whom he said, "he hoped to ruin before they reached Sicily, without bringing them to a general action." While on the Sicilian station, off Syracuse, the same impatience of mind manifested itself which his lordship exhibited during the blockade of the Dardanelles, and from this moment to the latest of his amiable and useful existence, he continued to hope, to long for home. His duty to his country was discharged nobly, and government should have released him from further service. Sailors are badly calculated for a life of retirement, they indeed ride in the whirlwind, but Collingwood possessed resources of a high order, and had he now gone into

honourable retirement, he would have given lustre to any sphere of private life in which he continued to move.

He said that his mind was like a bow for ever bent, and wanted relaxation to preserve its usefulness; he confessed, also, his anxious temperament, but attributed the rapid increase of that feeling to the critical situation of affairs then crowding round him. In fact, at the close of the year 1807, he thus undisguisedly expressed his real sentiments: "I shall be happy," said he, "when I am at Chirton, and *never before*; for this life, though it is a necessary one, is totally devoid of comfort. It is the ladder, the precarious and unsteady ladder, by which I have mounted to rank and fortune; but happiness lies quite another way. I am now going in search of the French. If I have the good fortune to find them, and heaven bless my endeavours, I shall immediately afterwards go to England, and in my family's affection receive the reward I wish for.* The pursuit of the French always animated the declining spirits of the hero; for he had insensibly imbibed the most mortal aversion to the name of that celebrated nation: he declared that he had conceived a regard for the Russian admiral with whom he co-operated in the Archipelago, because that officer professed to hate the French. This was certainly after the manner of his immortal predecessor.—Amongst other duties of the commander-in-chief, the practices of some of his officers, however well intended, required strict observance and correction; one captain had stopped an American vessel, and pressed a seaman out of her. Against the injustice, impolicy, and folly of such conduct, the admiral remonstrated with more than usual warmth. America was then a neutral country, and, had that nation called upon England for reciprocal justice, our fleet would have been obliged to disgorge a large number of excellent seamen. This unpleasant affair being dismissed, his lordship informed Lord Mulgrave of an infamous practice amongst the prize-

* Vide letter to J. G. Blackett, Esq., 24th October, 1807, Collingwood Correspondence.

agents at Malta, of corresponding with the claimants of detained neutral vessels, to discontinue the suit in the court of Admiralty. To this crying evil he earnestly called the minister's attention; it was discreditable to the British character, and in it originated those complicated grievances against which the bey of Tunis, and others favourable to the British flag, so frequently remonstrated. There never was a commander of a British fleet whose high sense of honour more strongly revolted against injustice, in any person or degree, than Admiral Lord Collingwood; and he has in innumerable instances undertaken the cause of the injured foreigner, whether neutral or allied, from a sincere and disinterested devotion to honour and justice.

In the month of December Collingwood stood out to sea, and his first adventure was the acquisition of some valuable French despatches, which Lord Cochrane had picked up, after they had been thrown overboard from a Russian transport on her way to Corfu. These papers, which he forwarded immediately to Lord Castlereagh, proved the anxiety of the French for the occupation of Corfu, and exposed their attempts to bring over Ali Pacha, the Albanian viceroy, to their interests, by patching up a reconciliation between that fierce potentate and General Berthier. Ali was a man as cautious as cruel, and subsequent events sufficiently proved how insincere were his professions to the French, how honourable his conduct towards every Englishman who visited his pachalic. But the situation of Europe, in the age of Napoleon, bears no analogy with its history at any other era; and the falsehood, and temporizing of princes, disreputable at all times, finds some extenuation at this period.

Arriving off Cephalonia, from Syracuse, on the 8th of January, 1808, he received an official notification of the retirement of Lord Grenville Leveson Gower from Petersburg; and, soon after, an order from the Admiralty arrived, instructing him to act against the Russians. This was a cruel necessity; he knew the unhappy north-men were driven into this war by the vindictive conduct of France towards Eng-

land; he was personally intimate with the officer whom he was now ordered to attack; and a few days previous, even after the declaration of war, the Russian fleet passed an English squadron without showing any disposition to molest them. Length of service had taught and reconciled our hero to the discharge of his duty to his country, however painful the mode; and, in his reply to Lord Mulgrave, he assured him that he would spare no pains to get at the Russian fleet.

Affairs in Sicily assumed an alarming aspect, from the movements of the French in Calabria, aided by the domestic differences between the people, relative to the dismemberment of the bishopric of Syracuse, and dissolution of the cathedral establishment. The king, it is true, was weak and despotic, but the people were unfit to take upon themselves the direction of public affairs; and when they had imprudently done so, they became astonished at their own act, and, conscious of their weakness, called on the admiral to become the mediator in the dispute. This honour he prudently declined; but, in a reply that, if it did not confirm the Sicilians in the dignity of the English character generally, excited the highest respect and admiration for the firmness and abilities of the commander-in-chief. His discernment in the estimate he had previously formed of the Neapolitan people, and government, had now its compensation; for he had the satisfaction to feel himself disentangled from the intrigues and bickerings with which Sicily was rent, and which terminated in the scandalous desertion of English alliance, and favourable treatment of the Russians, who had just then made peace with Napoleon.

Amongst the correspondents of Lord Collingwood, at the commencement of the year 1808, was Mehemet Ali, pacha of Egypt, of whose excellent judgment, and moderation, the English admiral entertained a high opinion; and notwithstanding the great gulf which creeds have opened between us and our Turkish fellow-creatures, he ventured to remonstrate with the pacha upon the flagrant abuse of the liberty

of the press, of which the French were guilty, by causing books to be printed in the Turkish language, for the purpose of distribution amongst the subjects of the Porte, proving that it was the interest of the Mussulmans to betray their country to the French. Mehemet himself had conceived an affection for the French nation at an early period of his life; and that people, fickle to others, were faithful to him. It was presuming, probably, on their influence over his mind, that they ventured to ship such villanous publications for Syria, Candia, and Cyprus. Lord Collingwood was fortunate enough to capture the vessel that was freighted with these political wares, and, unacquainted with Mehemet's secret feeling towards the French, informed him of the prize, and warned him against the insidious arts of that country.

The anxieties of Collingwood, and the circumstances in which they had their origin, much resemble those of Nelson in pursuit of the French fleet, previous to the battle off the Nile. During the early months of 1808 his lordship was in pursuit of the enemy, without being able to obtain any satisfactory intelligence; so that he arrived at ports only to learn that the French had just left them. It has been asked by naval historians, "what the British commander-in-chief was about, to suffer a French fleet to traverse the Mediterranean in all directions, and to possess a whole month's command of the Adriatic?" But this question is answered most fully by the following extract from a letter to Lady Collingwood, bearing date the 15th of May, 1808:—"At sea there is no getting intelligence, as there used to be on former occasions; for now there is not a trading ship upon the seas—nothing but ourselves. It is lamentable to see what a desert the waters are become. It has made me almost crazy; and if I had not a very good constitution, would have worn me quite out; for I know that in England success is the only criterion by which people judge, and to want that, is always reckoned a great crime."

The loss, or non-discovery of the French squadrons, was

attributable to a variety of circumstances, wholly beyond human control. Admiral Allemand, with five sail of the line, escaped the watchful eye of Sir R. Strachan, and sailed from Rochefort ; the English squadron pursued, but the enemy passed the Straits on the 26th of January unseen from the rock, and, unnoticed by any British cruiser, anchored safe in the road of Toulon. From this port the united squadrons sailed, under Vice-Admiral Ganteaume, for Corfu, off which island the Commune dé Paris, which carried the admiral's flag, was so much damaged, that Ganteaume removed to the *Magnanime pro tempore*, and cruised off the Ionian isles. As soon as his own vessel was refitted, he sailed southward, arrived off Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia, and returned without hearing of the English, into the harbour of Toulon. From the various directions in which he sailed, as well as the rapidity of his movements, it is just as extraordinary that he escaped the British, as that they were unable to find him.

Unable to come up with the enemy, Sir R. Strachan sailed for Sicily, and placed himself under the command of Collingwood, who was further strengthened, at the same time, by the arrival of Vice-Admiral Thornborough, with a squadron of five sail of the line. Thus powerful, Collingwood redoubled his exertions to find out his enemies, and gave himself up wholly to this all-absorbing idea : "The first object of my life (says his lordship to Lady Collingwood), and what my heart is bent on (I hope you will excuse me), is the glory of my country." This he was determined to maintain, and boasted of his ability to do so, having "as large a fleet as ever was employed by England," consisting of thirty sail of the line, and eighty ships of war of different sorts. With such a fleet, and such a commander, the French would have had little chance of escaping annihilation ; and in the firm conviction that they could not long have escaped, the admiral sailed towards the Adriatic, where it was supposed Ganteaume's fleet was cruising. As he entered that sea, he gave directions to prepare for action, and issued a general order

for the conduct of the ships on the approaching occasion;* but when our fleet neared Cape Rizzuto, it was ascertained that the enemy had sailed out of the Adriatic ten days before, and soon after Captain Otter brought intelligence of Gan-
 teau's being safely anchored in the road of Toulon. Disappointed with the decrees of Providence, displeased with his destiny, the commander-in-chief left Vice-Admiral Thornborough to preserve the blockade of Toulon, and proceeded to Gibraltar, where his services were now loudly called for, in aid of a better cause than that of Neapolitan legitimacy—the liberty of the Spanish patriots; a cause promoted and ultimately carried to a glorious termination by the genius, skill, and gallantry of Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington.

* Collingwood being under momentary expectation of an engagement, issued the following able instructions to his fleet, instructions founded upon the experience of a protracted war, and confirmed by reflection upon the cause of our losses in the victory of Trafalgar:—

General Order.—“ From every account received of the enemy, it is expected that they may very soon be met with, on their way from Corfu and Tarentum; and success depends on a prompt and immediate attack on them. In order to which, it will be necessary that the greatest care be taken to keep the closest order in the respective columns during the night, that the state of the weather will allow, and that the columns be kept at such a sufficient distance apart, as will leave room for tacking or other movements; so that, in the event of calm or shift of wind, no embarrassment may be caused.

“ Should the enemy be found formed in order of battle, with his whole force, I shall, notwithstanding that, probably, not make the signal to form the line of battle; but, keeping the closest order, with the van squadron attack the van of the enemy, while the commander of the lee division takes the proper measures, and makes to the ships of his division the necessary signals for commencing the action with the enemy's rear, as nearly as possible at the same time that the van begins: to his signals, therefore, the captains of that division will be particularly watchful.

“ If the squadron has to run to leeward to close with the enemy, the signal will be made to alter the course together; the van division keeping a point or two more away than the lee, the latter carrying less sail; and, when the fleet draws near the enemy, both columns are to preserve a line as nearly parallel to the hostile fleet as they can.

“ In standing up to the enemy from the leeward upon a contrary tack, the lee line is to press sail, so that the leading ship of that line may be two or three points before the beam of the leading ship of the weather line; which will bring them to action nearly at the same period.

Less fortunate than Nelson, in those opportunities which were the rounds of the ladder by which he ascended to an eminent renown, he was however, equally fortunate in the respect paid to his worth, and entertained for his abilities as a seaman. The Duke of Clarence (to whom he was not personally known) preserved a regular correspondence with the admiral; and the following manly and kind sentiments are quoted from his royal highness's letter of the twenty-first of May 1808, to Lord Collingwood: "I sincerely trust that the next time the French venture out, your lordship will fall in with them. The event will speak for itself—another Trafalgar. All I ask is, that the life of the gallant admiral may be spared to his country. Your lordship mentions my approbation and friendship. Had not circumstances,

"The leading ship of the weather column will endeavour to pass through the enemy's line, should the weather be such as to make that practicable, at one-fourth from the van, whatever number of ships their line may be composed of. The lee division will pass through at a ship or two astern of their centre; and whenever a ship has weathered the enemy, it will be found necessary to shorten sail as much as possible, for her second astern to close with her, and to keep away, steering in a line parallel to the enemy's, and engaging them on their weather side.

"A movement of this kind may be necessary, but, considering the difficulty of altering the position of the fleet during the time of combat, every endeavour will be made to commence battle with the enemy on the same tack they are; and I have only to recommend and direct, that they are fought with at the nearest distance possible, in which getting on board of them may be avoided, which is always disadvantageous to us, except when they are flying.

"The enemy will probably have a convoy of ships, carrying troops, which must be disabled by the frigates, or whatever ships are not engaged; or whose signals may be made to attack the convoy, by cutting their masts away, and rendering them incapable of escaping during the contest with their fleet.

"In fine weather the watch are to bring their hammocks on deck with them in the night, which are to be stowed in the nettings; so that on any sudden discovery of the enemy, they will have only to attend to the duty on deck, while the watch below clear the ship for action.

"If any ship is observed by her second ahead to drop astern, during the night, to a greater distance than her station is, she is to notify it to her by showing two lights, one over the other, lowered down the stern, so that it may not be seen by ships ahead; and should a ship not be able to keep her station, those astern of her are to pass her, and occupy the place she should have been in."—*James's Naval History, Vol. IV.*

which it is unnecessary to dwell upon, prevented my following our profession, I should have been proud to have seen the word approbation in your lordship's letter; but situated as I am, I must to your lordship confess, that I merit not that epithet: but any individual that does his duty well, is sure of my friendship. I need not say more to Lord Collingwood, *the bosom friend of my ever to be lamented Nelson.*—William."

The French fleet, commanded by Ganteaume, was now secure from that chastisement which Collingwood had prepared for them, and his lordship, had unhappily followed the policy of Nelson too closely, by watching the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and the beautiful island of Sicily more particularly. The Spaniards, so recently arrayed in alliance against us, were now, most unexpectedly, converted into friends, by a train of events which the British cabinet could not possibly have foreseen. The drivelling monarch of Spain, Charles IV., by a temporizing policy, had impoverished and attenuated his kingdom, and by openly permitting a criminal association of his queen with his favourite, Godoy, so impiously designated the Prince of Peace, had excited the indignation of his people, and the contempt of his legitimate offspring. The circumstances connected with this transaction are without a parallel in modern history.* Mutual recriminations occurred between the king of Spain and his son, which, being fomented by the complicated intrigues of Napoleon, Godoy, and the queen, ended in the abdication of the father in favour of his eldest son, Ferdinand VII. Repenting of his act, Charles declared that undue influence had been employed to extort his abdication, and claimed the mediation of Napoleon. It is more than probable, that even this foolish proceeding was the produce of still further intrigues between his false friends and worthless relatives, for, when Napoleon had heard both disputants, he decided that Spain and the Indies belonged to neither, but

* Vide Wright's *Life and Campaigns of the Duke of Wellington*. Vol. i. Chap. v.

to himself, as a person infinitely more competent to wield a sceptre than either of them. Charles was dismissed to Compeigne and Ferdinand to Valencey, where Talleyrand undertook to be his keeper. Fortunately for the liberties of Europe, the Spanish people felt the insult offered to their nation, in the persons of their royal family, so poignantly, that resistance to further innovations was the general determination.

To the English, now, the Spaniards looked for that noble, generous, disinterested assistance, which history attests they have ever granted to the unfortunate; and, having communicated to Lord Collingwood their intention of placing the Archduke Charles of Austria at the head of a provisional government in Spain, his lordship immediately despatched the *Amphion* frigate, Captain Hoste, to Trieste, there to await the prince's commands, and communicated the fact of his having done so to the archduke and to the British minister. For this act Lord Collingwood is altogether answerable; nor does the treachery of the Austrian minister, in betraying the contents of his letter to Napoleon, in the least degree impeach the wisdom of the measures, or the admiral's zeal. But Austria had a difficult game to play, and this act of dishonour was of some value in deceiving the French emperor, while she was recruiting strength sufficient to meet him in the field once more. But the wisest provisions, the concentrated physical power of Austria, were unequal to the colossal strength of Napoleon, who, in the following year, fixed his head-quarters at Vienna, and annihilated the Austrian army at Wagram.

While the cause of liberty was progressing in Spain, Collingwood watched the interests of the sacred contest with enthusiasm; he gave ammunition to the patriots, encouraged their generals and governors by the best and ablest instructions, and cultivated the most friendly relations with the inhabitants; in fact, he was amongst the first and best instruments in concerting that alliance of England with Spain, which ended in the ruin of the French imperial government.

In all his negotiations and co-operation with the patriots, Collingwood acted with the most admirable judgment; and, from the very commencement of the insurrection, perceived the inactivity of one portion of the nobility, and the insincerity of the other. This character of the war was frequently given by Sir A. Wellesley, at a subsequent period, and from personal experience; but Lord Collingwood foresaw the infirmity and peculiarity, and thus described them: "This war is supported by the common people, who, instigated by the clergy, are worked up to the highest degree of enthusiasm. They go from the drill to the priests, who, in every street, are preaching the duty of being firm in the defence of their country, and there is no influence so powerful in it. Amongst the higher orders there are many doubtful characters, but they dare not show themselves." In these sentiments he was not mistaken; and he was himself for a time deceived in the formation of an intercourse with Don Thomas Morla, one of the most consummate political equivocators that ever held a public rank. This Morla held a lengthened correspondence with Lord Collingwood, relative to the transport of the French soldiers, who had surrendered at Baylen, to the port of Rochefort; but he was unable to persuade his lordship, either of the prudence of landing them at so near a point, or the propriety of his convoying them thither. He stated that he could not allow so large a body of troops, with their arms, to pass on the sea, until he should have received instructions from his royal master: a reply which at once relieved the Spanish government from their difficulties, because the fulfilment of their promise, in consequence, became impossible, and the obligation, therefore, was discharged: but Collingwood did not think that Morla was serious in his professions, for he assured Lord Castlereagh "that the Spaniards did not possess the means of sending the captives to Rochefort in any case."

The difficulties that attended the restoration of a regular government to Spain were greater than the abettors of the patriots imagined: a virulent enemy was to be dislodged from

the fortresses of the country; money and arms to be supplied to the inhabitants; and the intrigues of foreign courts obviated. The Queen of Naples, a mistress of the arts of deception, had persuaded the Duke of Orleans to take her son, Leopold, under his protection, and sail in the British ship of war the *Thunderer*, for Spain, and there endeavour to put the young prince at the head of a regency. Collingwood viewed this attempt as the foolish presumption of an intermeddling woman, and, writing to Lady Collingwood, turned the whole business into a jest. "If it had not been a queen," said the admiral, "that did this, I should have called it folly; but as Sidi Mahomet Slowey, when telling me in his letter what the emperor had determined to do, says, 'You know emperors and kings are a great deal wiser than other people;' I suppose the rule applies equally to queens." The Duke of Orleans was too wise to labour long under such a political delusion, and, being convinced by the reasoning of Lord Collingwood of the absurdity of the queen's design, he re-embarked in the *Thunderer*, and proceeded to England. On parting with the gallant admiral, his royal highness expressed his happiness at having formed his acquaintance, and said he should always remember the event with pleasure.

As the year 1808 drew near its close, the duties of our hero continued to be diplomatic; the French had a fleet, but they were so careful of it that it was hardly possible to get sight of it; and, perhaps, it should form a subject of congratulation, for the great successor of Nelson was now beginning to sink under the length and weight of his services, and he frequently pressed upon Lord Mulgrave the hardship of keeping him any longer afloat. He complained, "that the service he was engaged in required more strength of body and mind than he had left in him in his old age;"* and his thoughts seemed much occupied with the project of returning to Morpeth, and making every one around him happy. Actuated by these feelings, on the 26th of August, 1808, he made a formal application to the Admiralty, that their lordships would relieve him from service

* He was only 50 years old.

until his health and spirits should be restored, in a letter to Mr. W. Pole ; and, on the same day, wrote to Lord Mulgrave also, stating that his health was impaired by the length of time he had been at sea, and the continued anxiety to which he was necessarily subject by the peculiar nature of his duties off Cadiz. To this application Lord Mulgrave replied, "I read with great uneasiness and regret the concluding part of your letter, in which you express some doubts of the continuance of your health to the end of the war ; and I earnestly hope that the service of the country will not suffer the serious inconvenience of your finding it necessary to suspend the exertion of your zeal and talents. It is a justice which I owe to you and to the country, to tell you candidly, that I know not how I should be able to supply all that would be lost to the service of the country, and to the general interests of Europe, by your absence from the Mediterranean. I trust you will not find the necessity—and without it the whole tenor of your conduct is a security that you will not feel the inclination to quit the command, while the interests of your country can be so essentially promoted by your continuing to hold it."

This artful, business-like, but unfeeling letter, produced the effect which Lord Mulgrave desired, and sealed poor Collingwood's fate ; for it was now but too plain that confinement to his bureau, and anxiety in the discharge of the multiplied diplomatic duties of his station, were rapidly invading the naturally excellent constitution of the admiral. Consenting to the flattering request of the Admiralty, Collingwood persevered with unabated energy, and his wonted talent, in conciliating the different powers that control the littorale of the Mediterranean, preserving a constant intercourse with Ali Pacha of Albania, and with the not less celebrated Mehemet Ali, who succeeded in making Egypt his own principality. Both these extraordinary men were natives of Albania ; their fortunes in life were precisely similar ; and, as may naturally be supposed, both were possessed of inordinate ambition, successfully maintained by their great natural talents. It is

highly honourable to the character of Collingwood that men of such discernment should have claimed his friendship, and formed so high an estimate of his political judgment.

The flattering reply of Lord Mulgrave soothed the anguish which Collingwood began to feel at so long an absence from his family; and, with the exception of the destruction of two first-rates, the *Robuste* and the *Lion*, by Rear-Admiral Martin, with a division of six sail of the line, the Mediterranean fleet had no other duty to perform, in 1808, than the dull, tedious, and unprofitable one of blockading Toulon, or cruising, towards the close of the year, off Cape San Sebastian. The convoy which had been under Baudin's care, with the exception mentioned, escaped into the bay of Rosas, and anchored under the protection of the forts that guarded that roadstead. The capture or destruction of these vessels of the fugitives was resolved on by the vice-admiral, and for that purpose he detached a division, consisting of two sail of the line, three frigates, and three brig-sloops, under the direction of Captain B. Hallowell of the *Tigre*. The squadron sailed after dark on the evening of the 31st of October, and dropped anchor in the bay, about five miles from the town. The boats of the squadron were then manned, and the conduct of the attack upon the enemy committed to Lieutenant John Tailour, of the *Tigre*. Advancing with the greatest precaution, they were unable to evade the watches; an alarm-gun was fired, and the enemy, in greater force than was expected, were ready to receive them: but the manly intrepidity of British sailors is indomitable; giving three hearty cheers for their king and country, they boarded the *Lamproie*, and carried her in a few minutes; and while the guns of Castle Rosas, Fort Trinidad, and other batteries, thundered over their heads, they succeeded in destroying or capturing every ship in the convoy before the return of day. This was a very bloody affair, and attended with frightful loss in comparison with the extent of the action and numbers engaged. Tailour, who so gallantly led the boats, received a desperate wound from a boarding pike; but, with the resolution of a hero, he

stopped the hemorrhage with a tourniquet formed of a knotted kerchief, and returned to the front of battle once more.

The year 1809 opened with less brighter hopes of health to Collingwood than those that had just passed away, and his languishing letters were more numerous than before, more expressive of that home-sickness under which he now began to sink—so obviously, that those around him perceived the rapid approaches of his fate. He had only forwarded a letter overflowing with the most touching language of desire for home, when a despatch from Lord Mulgrave arrived, assuring him of the satisfaction felt by the Admiralty at his continuance on the station, offering him the appointment of any officers he pleased to assist him in his duties, and acquainting him that his majesty had appointed him to be major-general of marines, *vice* Admiral Lord Gardner, who had died at Bath in January 1809. For this promotion he felt sincerely grateful, and so much influenced by this mark of his majesty's approbation, that he appeared to rally for a while, and become himself again. He assured Lord Mulgrave, from off Malta, January 1809, that there was no object in the world which he would put in competition with his public duty; and so long as he was continued in the command, his utmost efforts should be used to strengthen the impression he had made on his majesty's mind; "he still hoped, *that whenever it could be done with convenience, Lord Mulgrave would bear his request in mind.*"

The affairs of Spain so completely engrossed the attention of France and England, and the rising star of Wellington became so conspicuous to Europe, that the thoughts of all were attracted by its brightness. This event, added to the destruction of the French navy by Nelson and Collingwood, completely changed the character of the war, and removed the scene of action from the face of the waters to the dry land; and such a renown did the armies of England attain under her hero Wellington, that the glory of our army, if it did not eclipse for a while, assuredly rivalled, the long-established fame of the British fleets. Collingwood, then, was the last of the naval heroes who flourished in the Napoleon wars, for the

circumstances and opportunities that created our great admirals, thenceforth ceased to occur; and even his occasions of distinction were diminished, when Wellington and his glory arose in Spain.

The complaints with which Admiral Collingwood's letters were now filled, indicated more fully that a change had come over him: he protested that he was no longer fit to direct such laborious duties, and expressed a species of resignation to Lord Mulgrave's desire, on the plea that his country had a right to his services. His recent appointment to the marines being unsolicited, was exceedingly gratifying to him, but it merely soothed his sufferings, the evil was then too deeply seated ever to be eradicated. His old ship, the *Ocean*, having suffered severely in the gales of the preceding winter, his lordship removed to the coast of Minorca, for shelter, and there awaited the arrival of the *Ville de Paris*, the best ship in the navy, to which he shifted his flag. But no ship in the service, however distinguished for its strength or sailing, was of any further advantage to the hero: he saw little of his new abode, "seldom moving from his desk." His infirmities, in fact, now rapidly increased, and he wrote to his lady, from off Minorca, in April 1809, to inform her of his promotion, but spoke in desponding terms of his health: "What I want most," said he, "is a new pair of legs, and a new pair of eyes. My eyes are very feeble: my legs and feet swell so much every day, that it is pretty clear they will not last long." The last sentence of a letter to his relative Miss Hall, at the same period is, "I am an unhappy creature—old, and worn out. I wish to come to England, but some objection is ever made to it;" and, on the second of March, he informed the governor of Mahon, that he could no longer attend to business, for that he dictated his reply with the utmost difficulty.

That he had held the command, even after he was totally unequal to its anxious duties, was the consequence of Lord Mulgrave's, not importunities, but rather determination; for, although no man was ever more entirely devoted to his king and country, or more active in the race of glory, yet it would

be absurd to assert, that his frequent applications for leave to come home, his complaints to his friends of the resistance of the Admiralty to his wishes, the oft and beautifully told tales of his love for his wife and children, were all insincere—the whole life of Collingwood refutes directly any such imputation.

The remainder of the admiral's useful and noble life was passed in diplomacy and political correspondence: he had been in the uniform habit of acquainting the Duke of Clarence with all naval operations in the Mediterranean, and in December, 1809, he sent him an account of Admiral Martin's gallant pursuit and destruction of the enemy's ships in the Gulf of Lyons. Nothing could be more acceptable to the royal sailor than the last letter of the brave admiral; to which he replied in the warmest and most affectionate language, introducing one of those happy proofs of tenacious memory, and correct application of recollections, for which his father, George III., was remarkable. "It is odd," said the duke, "that the enemy should have selected the twenty-first of October for sailing," which was the anniversary of the battle of Trafalgar. His last correspondence with the royal duke was soon followed by a renewal of his application to Lord Mulgrave for leave to return to England. When he first requested permission to resign, disease was approaching; when he last addressed them, the hand of death was laid upon him. He was unable to walk across his cabin; and from the nature of his complaint, an affection of the stomach, the application of remedies was difficult: on the twenty-second of February, therefore, he informed the Admiralty, "that he was past service, and unable to apply himself to the duties of his office."

Advised to try the effects of a residence on shore, accompanied by the advantage of horse-exercise, his lordship landed at Port Mahon, in Minorca, attended by his faithful companion, Captain Hallowell. The remedy, if earlier applied, might have proved valuable, but it was then too late, and his physician suggested that course which he thought would give the greatest relief to the sufferer's mind, namely, his immediate return to England. On the third of March, 1810, he sur-

rendered the command to Rear-Admiral Martin, and embarked on board the *Ville de Paris*. Being informed that they were once more on the high seas, he expressed much gratification, and, turning to his friends and attendants, said, "then I may yet live to meet the French once more." During the whole day of the seventh he continued tranquil, spoke calmly of his wife and children, and past events of his life, and as the day closed, the spirit of the brave Collingwood, released from its earthly bonds, ascended to the abode of just men made perfect.

The immediate cause of his death was an obstruction of the pylorus, or inferior aperture of the stomach, produced by constant leaning over his desk in the discharge of his unlimited diplomatic duties. On the arrival of the *Ville de Paris* at Portsmouth, the body was removed to London, and there deposited, in the crypt of St. Paul's, beside the splendid sarcophagus originally designed for Cardinal Wolsey, in which the remains of the immortal Nelson, the companion, friend, and rival of Collingwood, had been laid just five years before. As the funeral was private, many naval officers of rank were precluded from paying the tribute of their admiration of the hero's character by following his remains to the tomb. Sir Peter Parker, however, was not to be restrained from honouring the memory of him, whom he had so early noticed as likely to be an ornament to the navy; and the Duke of Clarence consoled himself for the privation of the satisfaction of accompanying Sir Peter, by addressing the following letter of condolence to Lady Collingwood: "Madam,—I this morning received a mourning ring in memory of the deceased Lord Collingwood, which, of course, I owe to your ladyship's politeness and attention. No one can regret the melancholy event of the death of his lordship more sincerely than I do; and *I feel great concern in having been prevented from attending the funeral*. I was informed that the interment was to be quite private, or else I should have made a point of attending the remains of my departed friend to the grave. No one could have had a more sincere regard for the public character and abilities of

Lord Collingwood than myself; indeed, with me it is enough to have been the friend of Nelson, to possess my estimation. The hero of the Nile, who fell at Trafalgar, was a man of a great mind, but self-taught: Lord Collingwood, the old companion in arms of the immortal Nelson, *was equally great in judgment and abilities*, and had also the advantage of an excellent education. Pardon me, madam, for having said so much on this melancholy occasion; but my feelings *as a brother officer*, and my admiration of the late Lord Collingwood, have dictated this expression of my sentiments. I will now conclude, and shall place on the same finger the ring which your ladyship has sent me, with a gold bust of Lord Nelson. Lord Collingwood's name ever be prized by me as coming from his family; the bust of Lord Nelson I received from an unknown hand, on the day the event of his death reached this country. To me the *two* rings are invaluable, and the sight of them must for ever give me sensations of grief and admiration--William."*

Nelson and Collingwood, now united in their sepulture, had been thrown together in early life: and their mutual esteem and admiration was not less honourable to their characters, than beneficial to the service of their country. Collingwood possessed a spirit as chivalric as that of Nelson, but concealed behind a modest deportment. Nelson, more showy, took the lead of him in the race of ambition, and maintained it to the last. It need not be concealed, that a feeling of rivalry existed between them, which the fond worshipper of Nelson's heroism would ascribe to Collingwood solely; but, to the imperishable honour of both men, that feeling, if it ever did exist, never produced an interruption of their friendship for a single hour of their glorious lives. The most careful perusal of Collingwood letters would lead, and necessarily, to a conclusion somewhat different from that at which the biographers of Nelson have arrived; for, while in one remarkable instance, already noticed in these pages, Nelson appeared to sacrifice friendship to what he considered duty, by passing

* Quoted from the Correspondence of Lord Collingwood. 4to. p. 501.

home to England from Gibraltar, "without taking his friend Collingwood by the hand;" no occasion can be shown on which the latter ever manifested the least jealousy of his friend's successes; and here, at the close of a sketch unequal to the greatness of the subject, it is due to the fame of Collingwood to state, that the gallantry and splendid instance of generous friendship which he exhibited, in firing into the San Nicolas and San Josef, to relieve Nelson from the pressure of such adversaries, and then passing on in search of an antagonist for himself, stands out alone in the naval history of England.

It was the policy of Lord Castlereagh to withhold from the descendants of Collingwood the gratification of a titled name, but at his death, his son-in-law assumed the name and arms of the hero. His widow caused a handsome cenotaph to be erected to his memory in his native town of Newcastle, and the splendid piece of sculpture that records his heroism; in the Cathedral of St. Paul's, at London, is also a record of British gratitude and generosity. In the year 1840, a subscription was commenced in the northern counties of England, for the purpose of erecting a testimonial, sufficiently expressive of the feelings with which his heroism was remembered by his countrymen, and equally worthy of his great achievements; to this noble object his grace the Duke of Northumberland, contributed the munificent donation of Five Hundred Pounds, together with an appropriate site in Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

THE END.

